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INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS WERE PROVIDED FOR A ONE-SEMESTER GRADE 10 COURSE IN NONWESTERN SOCIAL STUDIES. THE READING MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS AND THE TEACHER'S MANUAL WERE DEVELOPED AS PART OF AN INTEGRATED AND SEQUENTIAL 4-YEAR CURRICULUM FOR ABLE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, AND WERE FIELD TESTED TWICE AND COMPLETLY REWRITTEN BEFORE BEING PUBLISHED. THE UNITS OF STUDY COVERED BY THE MATERIALS WERE (1) "APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA," (2) "ECONOMIC GROWTH IN INDIA," (3) "RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL," AND (4) "TOTALITARIANISM IN CHINA." THESE UNITS AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING TEACHING STRATEGIES WERE PREPARED FOR INDUCTIVE-TYPE INSTRUCTION. (RS)

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AREA STUDIES IN THE NON-WESTERN WORLD

Student Readings & Teacher's Manual

AREA STUDIES IN THE NON-WESTERN WORLD

A Note to the Public Domain Edition

This one-semester course in Area Studies in the Non-Western World was developed at the Social Studies Curriculum Development Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Intended for the second semester of tenth grade, it is part of an integrated and sequential four-year high school curriculum for able students, the top quarter of a typical high school class. Experiments with these materials with average high school seniors indicate, however, that the course teaches very well to this quite different audience.

These materials and the teaching strategies which are developed in the accompanying Teacher's Manual were originally compiled during the summer of 1964 and tried in five high schools that next spring. They were completely rewritten during the spring and summer of 1965 and tried again beginning in February 1965. This second trial revealed a number of shortcomings which we have not been able to correct because we have no funds to finance a third version. This Note explains briefly what we believe to be the major faults of the material. A similar analysis will accompany each of the courses we release.

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The purpose of an experimental program is to discover the weaknesses of new instructional materials as well as to find their strengths. On the whole, the Social Studies Curriculum Center at Carnegie Institute of Technology has found Area Studies in the Non-Western World to be superior to existing world history courses in several ways. In the first place, the students can recall more information about non-western countries than students taught from a conventional text. Second, preliminary observations indicate that they are more capable of using concepts drawn from social sciences disciplines as tools of analysis.

This introduction is not intended to dwell upon the successes of Area Studies in the Non-Western World, however, but to summarize the deficiencies that the staff of the Center has found in the course.

Our attempts to obtain primary sources and scholarly reports upon which to base class discussions have often failed. Because so much of the literature of non-western cultures have not been translated into English, it is very difficult to obtain interesting, eyewitness observations of conditions in the countries studied. Often staff has had to write its own expository article, summarizing the findings of social scientists, in order to produce materials appropriate to our objectives. Consequently, some of the materials in the course have not been written by experts in the field, but by members of the project staff.

Finally, we have occasionally found that the sequence of readings has failed to build up an idea as well as the staff would like it to. Since the students come to the course with inadequate knowledge of non-western countries, it has been difficult to ascertain what they must know first before they can probe more deeply into the problems of an area.

APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

A UNIT FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

prepared at the

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTER

sponsored by

PROJECT SOCIAL STUDIES

at

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Reading I

INTRODUCTION: APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

All over the world -- in Africa, Asia, the Americas and even Europe itself -- men of different races are living together. In some countries they share the same facilities, enjoy equal rights and marry whom they choose. In others they live in separate communities, sharing nothing but a common hatred. Between these two extremes lie a number of gradations. The relations between men of different races has become one of the most serious issues of our time.

Apartheid (pronounced apart-hite) is the official policy of racial separation decreed by the government of the Republic of South Africa. It requires that whites and non-whites live in separate neighborhoods, use different public facilities, and even worship in separate churches. There are two basic objectives of the policy: the first is the parallel development of the races; the second is white supremacy. Since 1948 the government has adhered to these principles, formalizing them through a series of regulations.

South African natives think of apartheid as a restrictive policy deliberately designed to deny them equal rights. Many whites in South Africa, on the other hand, believe that apartheid exists for the mutual benefit of both races. Because whites control the South African government, they have been able to pass laws legalizing their position. Africans, having no choice in the matter, have been forced to obey them.

No one knows what will happen eventually in South Africa. Since non-whites outnumber the whites by four to one, there is little chance that they can forever be kept subordinate. Yet the whites are determined to maintain exclusive control of society in South Africa. A bloody clash seems inevitable. Such is the price which may be paid for the policy of racial supremacy.

Reading I consists of two parts. The first is a list of the major laws passed since 1949 to govern the relations of whites and non-whites in South Africa. The second is an analysis of apartheid written by a white South African, Nadine Gordimer, who is sympathetic to the cause of the natives and a staunch foe of apartheid. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How is apartheid similar to or different from caste? From the policy of segregation followed in some parts of the American south? From slavery? Use the attached chart to help answer these questions.

2. What is Miss Gordimer's frame of reference? How might her frame of reference influence what she writes?

3. What is the basic problem in the Republic of South Africa?

SOME LAWS ESTABLISHING APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

1949- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act forbade marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans.

1950- The Population Registration Act required everyone to carry a registration card stating his race.

1950- The Group Areas Act established segregated residential areas for whites, natives and coloured.

1951- The Bantu Authorities Act abolished western-type councils and representative groups for the government of natives and re-established the authority of tribal chieftains or headmen.

1953- The Bantu Education Act put control of the education of natives under the central government.

1953- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act legalized African labor unions but outlawed strikes by African workers.

1953- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act permitted any person to set aside his public vehicle or his premises for the exclusive use of one race.

1954- The Native Resettlement Act removed 57,000 natives from their homes and resettled them in designated areas where only natives were permitted to live.

1962- The General Law Amendment Act provided a minimum jail sentence of five years and a maximum penalty of death for sabotage and also provided that opponents of the government could be placed under house arrest.

1963- Another General Law Amendment Act provided for the detention of persons without trial for the purpose of interrogation.

Africa: Ordeal by Color *

APARTHEID

* Nadine Gordimer, From HOLIDAY magazine, vol. 25, April 1959, pages 94-95, 133+

Miss Gordimer, a critic of the institution of Apartheid, suggests in this article that there is a double standard in South Africa. "The real life of any community -- restaurants, bars, hotels, clubs and coffee bars -- has no place for the African man or woman." According to the author, this system not only precludes the African from full participation in social life, but also denies the whites opportunities to enjoy life to its fullest extent. Engagingly written, this article serves to set the stage for the fifteen reading excerpts which follow.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Stating the Issue

Five major groups make up the society of the Republic of South Africa. They are the natives or Bantu (67%), the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, sometimes called Boers or Afrikaners (10%-12%), English speaking residents primarily of British extraction (8%-10%), the Cape Coloured (10%), and Asians (3%). This five-fold division of the society has been developing for more than three hundred years. The exact manner in which it expanded played an important role in the maturing of the institution of apartheid.

The original native population, the Hottentots, dominated the Cape when the Boers arrived from Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century. Hottentot and Boer were soon in conflict; the Boer easily emerged triumphant. This initial victory over the native planted the seeds of white superiority in the minds of the Boer Afrikaner. A century later, when the expanding Boer frontier reached the native Bantu settlements across the Great Fish River, the result was far different. In the Bantu, the Boer found a more worthy adversary. The century of intermittent wars and massacres which followed left an indelible mark on the Afrikaner mind. They nurtured the seeds of racial superiority and apartheid.

The injection of two additional groups, British colonial officials and settlers, and Asian merchants and artisans, further complicated South African affairs. Each new group came from a culture quite different from that of the Boers. Again conflict was inevitable, this time between Boer and Briton as well as between white, native, and Asian. The growth of a coloured population, the offspring of white fathers and native mothers, provided still another complication.

Out of the interaction of these cultures grew the institution of apartheid. To understand its background, we must study the ways in which each group of newcomers came into contact with the men already on the scene. Both the frame of reference of each group and the specific incidents which took place between them helped to shape the present society of the Republic of South Africa.

What were the major aspects of the cultures of the Hottentots, Boers, Bantu and Britons? How were these cultures similar or different? What happened when men from these different groups made contact with each other? How did the contact of cultures shape the society? These are the issues with which we will be concerned in Readings II through X.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Reading II

THE HOTTENTOTS

Apartheid developed in the twentieth century as a method of stabilizing the relations of whites and non-whites. These relations began more than three centuries ago. The first whites landed at the cape in 1652 to find the land populated by tribes called Hottentots. From the very beginning the whites and the Hottentots were forced to seek ways in which they could live in the same country.

The Dutch Boers, the first white settlers, had come from Protestant Holland where they lived in a peculiar European sub-culture in which their particular brand of Protestantism played an important role. They settled around the Cape for a variety of reasons which we shall examine in later readings. Sometimes the motives of the Boers and the civilization of the Hottentots came into direct conflict. This conflict set the pattern which eventually resulted in apartheid.

Reading II is an account of Hottentot culture written by a modern anthropologist, Isaac Schapera. Professor Schapera describes the Hottentots as they exist today but frequently refers to the manner in which they lived when the Boers first encountered them. As you read his account, think about the following questions.

1. How did the Hottentots make their living? Would this way of life eventually bring on conflicts with whites who settled permanently around waterholes?
2. What were the main characteristics of Hottentot political life? What analytical questions about political systems are useful for analyzing Hottentot political structure?
3. Do you see any possible sources of apartheid in differences between Hottentot and European culture?

THE SOCIETY OF THE HOTTENTOTS*

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* Isaac Schapera, THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA: BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1930. pp. 223-329.

The excerpts from Dr. Schapera's writings fall into three catagories:

Daily routine, food, and political institutions of the Hottentot. Although his material comes from a study made in the twentieth century, many of the institutions and practices which he describes were characteristic of seventeenth century Hottentots. He describes the pastoral life pursued by these primitive peoples, the importance of water holes, the hunting practices of the men, food preparation, and leadership functions of the chief and head man. Information on economic organization, level of technology, political structure, social structure, and the value system which is called for in the lesson plan is provided.

Reading III

THE COMING OF THE DUTCH

While the Hottentots followed their simple pastoral ways, events took place in Europe which were to have a profound influence upon South Africa. As a market economy developed on the continent, joint-stock companies grew up to promote trade both within Europe and with lands overseas.

Mercantilist philosophers argued that each country ought to control its sources of raw materials and to enlarge its commercial shipping and its navy for the protection of home industries. Soon vast commercial empires were in the making.

The growth of joint-stock companies sped these developments. Organized somewhat like a modern corporation with stockholders and a Board of Directors, these companies brought individual traders together for common enterprises. One of the largest and most successful was the Dutch East India Company, specializing in the lucrative spice trade between Europe and present-day Indonesia. In the holds of its broad-beamed cargo vessels the company carried the precious spices which Europeans required to preserve meats. Profits were enormous.

The trip to the Far East around the Cape of Good Hope was long and dangerous. Dutch merchants needed a half-way-house for rest and refreshment to break up the long voyage. With these needs in mind, the Company landed a group of its employees on the Cape in 1652. These settlers were supposed to establish a station to provide fresh water, meat, vegetables and staples for crews and passengers bound for the Indies. Thus the Dutch settled in Africa.

Reading III is extracted from the Journal of Jan van Riebeeck, the distinguished commander of the Cape settlement from 1652 to 1662. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What was the purpose of the settlement? How were the Hottentots involved in accomplishing this purpose?
2. What was the attitude of the Dutch toward the Hottentot? How did the first contacts of the two groups help to form this attitude?
3. Why did the Dutch turn from trade with the Hottentots to settlement of free burghers on the lands where Hottentots lived? Why make some of the settlers "free burghers"?
4. What features of the society of the Hottentots would make it difficult for them to combine under one leader to drive out the Dutch settlers?

THE BEGINNINGS OF BOER SOCIETY *

*Excerpted from Jan van Riebeeck, THE JOURNAL OF JAN van RIEBEECK, Volumes I and II. Capetown: A. A. Balkema, for the van Riebeeck Society, 1952 to 1958. From Vol. I, pages 153, 200, 201, 375-376, 377, 378, 379. Volume II, pages 60, 90-91, 92, 93.

The excerpts from THE JOURNAL OF JAN van RIEBEECK provide information about the trade with the natives, arrival of trading vessels from Holland and England, colonization of Europeans at the Cape, and the nature of European life in South Africa. Students find enough information in the excerpts to compare the European way of life with that of the Hottentot which is described in Reading II.

Reading IV

BOER AND HOTTENTOT

What are the possible ways in which the boers and the Hottentots -- or any two peoples, for that matter -- could live in the same geographic area? Most social scientists would identify five:

1. The merging of cultures: the development of a single people and a single culture through breaking down all barriers between the two groups.
2. Assimilation: the merging of cultural traits from separate cultural groups without involving biological amalgamation.
3. Accommodation: mutual adaptation of one group to another by eliminating or lessening the issues which bring them into conflict.
4. Apartheid: establishing separate societies in separate geographic areas of a country with each group developing its independent culture.
5. Extermination: killing off, driving out, or totally subordinating one group so that the stronger has complete control of the territory in question.

These were the alternatives open to the Boers. They had moved into land where the Hottentots had lived for centuries and had to develop some way in which the conflicting desires of the two groups could be reconciled. Other men at other times have faced the same problem. The earliest American settlers, for example, either exterminated the Indians or ruthlessly pushed them westward.

Which of the five possible policies will be adopted depends upon a large number of variables. Are the groups in question of the same race? Do they come from cultures similar enough to each other that assimilation is relatively easy? Do the ideologies of the group make accommodation acceptable, or does one group think itself so superior that compromise is exceedingly difficult? Is one group powerful and ruthless enough to kill off the other? Do specific incidents drive the two groups apart and establish a pattern? Each student can probably identify additional variables.

Reading IV contains evidence with which the reader can develop hypotheses to account for the relationship which eventually developed between Boer and Hottentot and which contributed to the establishment of a culture among the Boers in which apartheid took firm root. The reading consists of several excerpts each preceded by a headnote. As you read them, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What was the attitude of the Boers toward the Hottentots? Why did they have this attitude?
2. What was the attitude of the Hottentots towards the Boers? Why did they have this attitude?
3. Which of the five relationships described in the Introduction is most likely to develop between the Boer and the Hottentot? Why?

I

Andrew Sparrman was a Swedish physician and botanist who traveled around the world in the 1770s. One of his side trips took him into the interior of South Africa. Although he was not a Dutch settler, his writings reflect many Boer attitudes.

SPARRMAN TRIES TO HIRE A HOTTENTOT*

. . . In our road we found a little Hottentot's village, which, if I remember right, consisted of five huts, run up in the manner I have described above; but covered with such miserable old mats, that the owners seemed to be much more afraid of the trouble, trifling as that would have been, of making new, than of the invonveniences attending the droppings of the eaves in wet weather. The inhabitants of this village consisted of about twenty people. They had run up a very wretched enclosure for their sheep and cattle, which were then at grass, and seemed to be very numerous. As I wished to try if I could not hire a Hottentot or two into our service, the oldest man in the kraal presented his son to me, a youth of nineteen or twenty years of age,saying that he could be very well spared in the village, in case I could persuade him to follow me. Upon this I crept into the young man's hut, and found him lying under his cloak. . . I spent a great deal of time to no purpose, in representing to him the great advantages he would gain by going with us; such as a cow with calf, knives, brass tinder-boxes, glass beads, and other tempting articles; in short, presents to an uncommon value, all which I offered him as a premium for half a year's service; but as I considered it unfair to deceive a poor Hottentot as any other person, I told him that our expedition would be of some duration: though, on the other hand, as the Hottentot nation is not absolutely insensible to the pleasures of the chase any more than to the calls of ambition, I at the same time represented to him, that an expedition of this sort would of itself afford him no small degree of pleasure, and on his return would give him some consequence in the eyes of his companions; but all was in vain. With as little success did I endeavour to set before him the pleasure he would have in smoking a better sort of tobacco, a quantity of which I had taken with me, and intended to bestow it very plentifully on any one that should accompany me in my journey. I likewise put him in mind, that he would not find so costly an article as tobacco, nor even victuals abound greatly, if he staid at home.

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*Andrew Sparrman, A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, TOWARDS THE ANTARCTIC POLAR CIRCLE, AND ROUND THE WORLD BUT CHIEFLY INTO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOTTENTOTS AND CAFFRES, FROM THE YEAR 1772 to 1776. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1786. Volume II, pp. 216-218.

Notwithstanding all this, I found him absolutely immoveable in soul as well as in body; excepting, indeed, that with regard to the latter, he now and then threw out a wiff of tobacco from the left side of his chops; and that two or three times, on my repeatedly requesting him to let me know his mind on the subject, he at length, though not without some difficulty, prevailed on himself to open his mouth, and answer me with a short but decisive, No! The extreme indolence of the lad, his very cavalier reception of me, the clouds of smoke that filled his cabin and made my eyes smart most horribly, together with the swarms of fleas I observed in it, excited in me just at that time the greatest indignation, as well as the unmost contempt for the Hottentot nation: though, when I afterwards came to consider the matter more impartially, as the lad, from his habits as well as nature, could very easily make shift with a moderate quantity of food, and with this could and actually did enjoy what to him was a real substantial pleasure, viz. his ease and tobacco, I could not well suppose that my offer would have any weight with him.

II

In the early eighteenth century an English artist, William Burchell, wandered through South Africa. His journals provide some of the most valuable sources for determining the nature of Boer-Hottentot relations during this period. This brief excerpt should help you understand the Hottentot attitude toward the Boer.

A HOTTENTOT'S LAMENT*

Here I (Burchell) sat the whole of the night, with him (a Hottentot) for my companion; and as he was both shrewd and communicative, I was for some time much amused by his remarks, and by his mode of viewing things. He had discovered from our conversation in the house, enough to know that I was not a boor; and now, therefore, began to lay open all his complaints, in the usual Hottentot style. Oud baas, he said, never gave them enough to eat; a very common complaint of Hottentots, and often very ill-founded; although possibly it might, in the present instance, be the truth exaggerated. Supposing the interior of Africa to be the country to which I belonged, and that I was now on my return home, he wished to make one of the party, and was delighted at the idea of going to a land where there were no boors; for, said he, they care nothing for 'us black things:' the two other Hottentots would, he hinted, be glad to leave their place if they dared: in short, no one was comfortable. Thus he continued to run over a long list of grievances.

III

The Boer was frequently harsh in his administration of "justice" to the Hottentot. In the early part of the nineteenth century Christian missionaries from England and Scotland arrived in the Cape colony to convert the heathen Hottentots. The Boers violently objected to any attempt to make the Hottentot equal to whites. The next excerpt is taken from a letter sent in 1803 from a frontier Boer, O. A. S. Meyer, to Cornelis de Kok, a Boer living in Cape Town.

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*From William J. Burchell, TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. London: The Batchworth Press, 1953 (reprint of the 1822 edition) Volume II, p. 127

BOER JUSTICE*

I am going to inform you of something that happened on the 6th of December 1802. About the evening three natives came to the house of the Burgher Cornelis Jansen, having with them three pack-oxen; the said Jansen immediately reported it to the commandant who instantly sent an armed party to his house. On the following day, being the 7th, there came twelve more to them, having three guns and three pack-oxen; all the rest were well armed with bows, arrows, and spears. The commandant Berger went himself to Jansen's in the morning to ask the reason of their coming there. Being asked what they came to do, the natives said that they were come to beg a little tobacco. The commandant understood the way to question them so closely, that he brought them to open confession that they came to examine how their farms were to be attacked; and also to see if there was water enough to come with a great troop. Being asked who had sent them, they answered two English missionaries, in order to spy the places, and return to the village where the English would furnish them with musquets, powder, and ball. On being asked how they were to execute it? they answered, by attacking the farm-houses by two and two at the same time, so that they could not assist one another. ALL THE FIFTEEN WE HAVE SHOT DEAD, HAVING FIRST EXTORTED THIS CONFESSION FROM THEM. Mark now with what murderous intentions are these Englishmen inspired against us! To have us all massacred in our houses?

> The final passage in Reading IV is part of a missionary's journal. Dr. John Philip was perhaps the best known representative of the London Missionary Society in South Africa. He attempted to raise the Hottentot to a level of greater equality with the whites, but was totally unsuccessful. In fact, as the letter from Meyer indicates, the missionaries served only to irritate the Boers into greater severity in their dealings with the natives. This excerpt shows how a typical missionary viewed the expansion of the Boer community.

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*From Sir John Barrow, AN ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS INTO THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE YEARS 1797 and 1798. Vol. II, London: T. Dadell and W. Davies, 1804, pp. 54-55.

BOER ENCROACHMENTS*

As the colonists increased in number, and began to feel their security and strength, and the difficulty of supplying their wants by barter and fair purchase, their encroachments daily augmented, until they were no longer endurable. Posts were formed in advance of the fort, and productive patches of land began to be considered as the property of the settlers. The Hottentots gradually and insensibly ebbed away with their flocks and herds from the vicinity of Table Bay and the Cape Peninsula, and the strangers steadily advanced, fixing their durable houses of stone where the fragile and temporary hut of the native herdsman had sprung up, and disappeared, as caprice or the change of seasons dictated. In some instances it is pretended that tracts of land were regularly purchased from the native chiefs or captains of their respective hordes, who, being in no manner straitened for territory, ceded for a trifling consideration their most valuable possessions. How such bargains were concluded at the period of which we speak, and whether the natives understood that by such transactions they renounced the right of pasturage and occasional occupation, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is most probable that their notions were no farther than to concede the joint and friendly use of the springs and herbage common amongst themselves.

No limit being fixed to the extension of the colony by these means, the number of farmers, or boors as they were called, rapidly increased; and as they removed farther and farther from the seat of government, their trade with the natives began occasionally to be interrupted by disputes and quarrels. Driven back towards the north and north-east, among dry and barren tracts, the Hottentots, seeing their herds and flocks diminishing and now scarcely sufficient for their own wants, avoided the barterers or merchants who came to traffic with them either on their own account or as agents of the Dutch government, and withdrew, on their approach, to the least accessible places. To increase this feeling of jealousy and apprehension, some outrages committed by the colonists greatly contributed; and before the end of the century it appears that some inoffensive kraals or villages had been surprised and plundered by rovers from the settlement.

The aspect of affairs was now entirely altered. The colonists, firmly established in the south-western portions of the country, began to regard the receding Hottentots as intruders and enemies; . . . It was obvious that the very existence of the natives was about to be considered as subservient to the interests of the boors. . . .

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*The Rev. John Philip, RESEARCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA: ILLUSTRATING THE CIVIL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE NATIVE TRIBES: INCLUDING JOURNALS OF THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR, Vol. I, London: James Duncan, 1828, pp. 17-18.

Reading V

THE BANTU

No people identifiable as Hottentots live in the Republic of South Africa today. A few descendants of Hottentot tribes still remain in Southwest Africa, but their relatives in South Africa have disappeared. Many died of white man's diseases; others died because their economic base disappeared; still others may have been absorbed into the Cape Coloured. But as a separate cultural group, the Hottentots ceased to exist.

As the Hottentots gave way before a culture with superior technology and greater experience at organizing large-scale enterprises, the Boers came into contact with another group of Africans, the Bantu. The Bantu lived north and east of the Fish River which the Boers reached in the 1770s. For the next century Boer and Bantu fought a series of bitter and bloody wars similar in some ways to the wars between the white settlers and the American Indians.

Reading V describes the military organization of the Zulus, one of the most fierce of the Bantu tribes. Many descendants of these warriors still live in South Africa. They and the remainder of the Bantu form the great majority of the present native population. It is against them that the whites have thrown up the barriers of apartheid. The excerpt which follows was written by a well-known anthropologist who is an authority on the life of the Zulu. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What was the most important character trait of a Zulu man? What evidence can you give to support your position?
2. How well were the Zulu organized? Could they operate on a large scale? What difference would this make in their relationships to the Boers? Could the Boers treat them as they had the Hottentots?
3. What would the Boers think of Zulu customs? How close were the two cultures?

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE ZULU*

* Eileen Jensen Krige, from THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE ZULUS, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1936, pp. 261-279, excerpted.

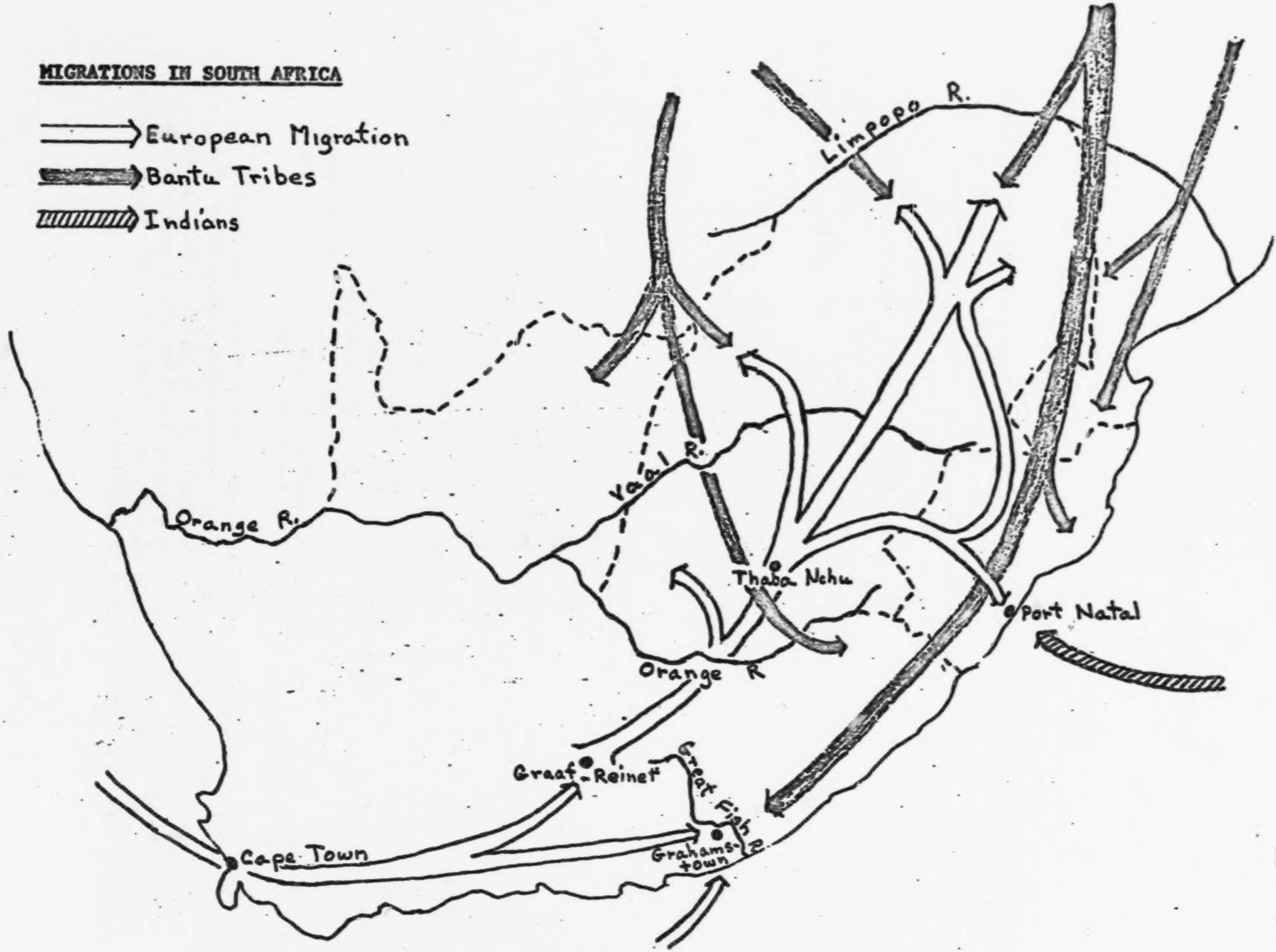
The selection contains a description of the military innovations introduced by Shaka (a powerful Zulu chief). Among the reforms included are the substitution of a short stabbing sword for the older throwing spear, new regimental dress, leather shields, and rituals in preparation for battle. The author also discusses the value orientation of the Zulu people. He suggests that courage and victory in battle are among the most important qualities of these people. The colorful writing enables students to compare the Hottentots with the Zulu and the European immigrants with Zulu. Students are asked to anticipate what kinds of social, political, and economic relationships will develop between these three groups.

Reading VI

BOER AND BRITON

The Boer population expanded to the east during the eighteenth century. They crossed the Great Fish River during the 1770s and came into conflict with the Bantu. In 1779, the first of eight Kaffir Wars began. (Kaffir is a term the Boers applied to certain Bantu tribes.) As these wars started, a new complication increased tension in South Africa: that was the arrival of the British. During the Wars of the French Revolution, the government of the Netherlands collapsed and the British, fearing French intervention, established a naval base at the Cape of Good Hope and occupied the Cape Colony in 1795. The Dutch reestablished control temporarily in 1803 but another crisis encouraged the British to return three years later. This occupation eventually became permanent. The government of the colony fell into the hands of the British.

The British governors set out to make the administration of the Cape Colony conform to the practices of the British Empire elsewhere. They introduced a series of political, educational, judicial, and financial reforms in an effort to bring about greater security and a more efficient economy. The Boers viewed these changes as a threat to their way of life. Finally, they decided to do something about it.



MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

European Migration
Bantu Tribes
Indians
Limpopo R.
Vaal R.
Orange R.
Orange R.
Thaba Nchu
Port Natal
Graaf-Reinet
Great Fish R.
Grahamstown
Cape Town

In the 1830s large numbers of Boers joined together to trek north and east out of the Cape Colony into Natal (see map). Concerned over the problems presented by an independent Boer Republic, the British annexed Natal in 1844. The Boers again pulled up stakes rather than live under British rule. This time they trekked north into what is now the Orange Free State. In turn, the British annexed this territory in 1848. A skirmish then broke out between Boer and Briton followed by prolonged diplomatic negotiations. Finally in the 1850s the British granted independent status to the two Boer republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic.

Reading VI contains two documents that bear on these developments. The first is a trekker proclamation published on the eve of the mass migration to Natal. The second is an excerpt from a Boer leader to the British governor of the Cape Colony. As you read these documents, think about the following questions:

1. Why did the Boers trek? What do these documents imply about the similarities and differences between the societies of the Boers and the British? What will happen to Boer-Bantu relations as a result of trekking?

2. How much assimilation had taken place between Boer and Briton? Why did they fail to accommodate themselves to each other better? What role did the presence of the natives play in the failure of the two white groups to get along better?

3. What effect did the entire experience with the British have on the development of attitudes among the Boers?

I

MANIFESTO OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS*

This document appeared in a South African newspaper on 2 February 1837. The following transcript is a revised translation of the original proclamation:

Numerous reports have circulated throughout the colony which discredit those Boers who have decided to emigrate from their homeland. We would like to explain to our fellow Boers and to the world at large that there are compelling reasons to trek. We have suffered severe losses and endured great hardships in recent years. We, therefore, publish the following summary of our motives for taking so important a step, and also our intentions respecting our proceedings toward the native tribes which we may meet beyond the boundary:

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*From Grahamstown Journal of 2 Feb., 1837.

1. We have no hope that the turbulent and dishonest conduct of the natives will stop under the present British administration; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in any country so ruled.

2. We complain of the severe personal loss resulting from the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire. We are particularly disturbed by the laws regulating the freed slaves.

3. We complain of the continual robberies and thefts by the native and coloured classes, particularly by the most recent Kaffir War (1834-1835) which destroyed many frontier farms and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the dishonest reports English missionaries send back to London where Government officials accept them as the truth. We foresee, as the result of missionary prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of our country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime, and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We declare that we leave this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than before. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. When we have established a stable government we will send copies of our constitution and laws to English officials in Cape Town. We will make provision for the punishment of any traitors who may be found among us.

8. We intend to inform the native population of our desire to live in peace with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are

entering a wild and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly to obey.

By authority of the farmers who have quitted the Colony,

(signed) Piet Retief

II

Each time the Boers trekked away from British authority, the English government followed. By 1848, the Boers were moving north to the Orange Free State; the British were in hot pursuit. The English government threatened another annexation. Their justification was that all people, white and non-white, would be in a better situation under British authority. The next document is a letter of protest from Boer Commandant-General A. W. J. Pretorius to Sir Harry Smith, British Governor of the Cape Colony.

To His Excellency the Governor High Commissioner of
the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Harry Smith

Bloem Fontein, July 18, 1848

Right Honourable Sir,

We all, the undersigned Commandants and Field Cornets of different districts here assembled, hereby acquaint your Excellency that we perceive, in a manifesto, that you threaten us with a war of military power; which appears to us very unjust to constrain us on lands which we have justly bartered from the natives -- to them having been allowed self-government and all privileges of liberty; and we whites must be governed by laws which come from another place or country. . . .

Your Excellency plainly stated that if the majority objected to British rule, you would leave us unmolested and without further interference. Now, we state to your Excellency, and we state it to the world, -- yes, we state it as men with clear hearts and much experience, that we white cattle farmers cannot, with any feeling of security, under Her Majesty's jurisdiction, reside in a country inhabited by so many coloured people, especially as they are left to their own laws, and we are placed under other laws. We repeat again, as well to your Excellency as to the world, that had we perchance been coloured, it might perhaps be possible, but now we find it impossible, because we are white African Boers. We speak not loosely, we speak not in hatred; because we were oppressed by the British authority (of which oppression we will not even make mention, for these no newspaper could contain, it would certainly comprise a whole volume): but we will briefly make mention of only two instances by way of supporting our complaints.

How many years have not the inhabitants of the old colony (where blacks are) remained in a state of insecurity, and how many irrecoverable losses and hardships have they not suffered under British rule. When we were all youths and children then there was native war: now we are men with gray hairs, and there is still native war: and we ask whether the inhabitants there have recovered their losses sustained through a war caused under British rule, as well in the year 1835, as in 1847 and 1848? The answer we leave to your Excellency, and even to the world. Will that portion of Her Majesty's subjects be enabled to reside in security and contentment? Have the houses that were burnt down been rebuilt? And now do we arrive at the great settlement of Natal, which perhaps gave birth to the manifesto. How did we obtain possession of that country -- unjustly or easily? No: we obtained it justly from a Sovereign power; and subsequently it cost us the blood of dearest wives and children, and we will never refrain from exclaiming it before the great Creator and the world -- and where is the country now? Is it still in possession of its legal proprietors (the Boers)? No! No! Why did your Excellency's government take away Natal? Was it based on the majority and at the desire of the proprietors of the said country, or because it was right to do so? Oh, no! Oh, no! But where is the word of right? Can anyone call that right which first deprived us of our liberty and country whilst we were living in peace and quietness; and afterwards, through insecurity, not only our places but also our corn and our sheaves and houses full of property? With tearful eyes are we obliged to look back on our churches and dearly bought land. . . .

Where are then the former proprietors of the land? Here they are wandering in the wilderness of South Africa. Your Excellency asks me if we were richer or better? No, we have sacrificed all for the country which the British authority has taken from us, and if you still, after all this, endeavor to take from us our land and places, -- yes, even our lives as your manifesto threatens us -- which life, we have obtained from a just God, from Him who hath hitherto preserved us; shall we then become better by your Excellency's visiting us at Natal? If you continue to oppress and drive us away, how shall we then be enabled to establish a church and house of God amongst us? Behold! our church standing at Natal as a testimony to the world that we have not so far forsaken God and become so unbridled as we have been represented. Have we better able to use it since the taking possession? No, we were immediately deprived of our good clergyman and afterwards obliged to flee and desert our church which we had built with our own hands in our poverty. . . . Oh, these hardships you will never eradicate from the heart of an African Boer neither with promises nor with threats; you will cause a further flight and dissatisfaction, but never a silent submission. And thus we have severely suffered; we have silently left our motherland under all these hardships; for liberty we sacrificed all! . . .

Oh, we could mention a volume of hardships and support them with many testimonies of truth, however, we will pass it all by. But we wish to entreat your Excellency to leave us unmolested and without further interference, on the grounds which we have justly obtained from the legal proprietors, and thus we shall exclaim to the world and our Creator, (who we know looks down upon us from on high, and to Him alone we owe all gratitude and reverence), that we have not yet been totally extirpated.

A. W. J. Pretorius
(signed by 900 others)

A true translation,
F. Rex, Sworn Translator (signed)

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Reading VII

BOER AND BANTU

In Reading VI we traced the history of the relationships between the Boers and the British. Late in the eighteenth century, the British seized control of the Cape Colony and began to impose their own society upon the Boers. Afraid that their civilizations would collapse before the superior power of the British, the Boers began to trek to the North. A whole series of treks resulted in the occupation of the Orange Free State. Eventually the Boers won status as an independent republic.

As the successive migrations swept the Boers across the Great Fish River they met the Bantu head on. Like the Hottentots the Bantu were a pastoral people depending upon flocks of cattle for their livelihood. Unlike the Hottentots, however, they were settled in villages and did not follow their herds around the countryside. They had lived in the lands north of the Fish River for more than a century when the Boers began to trek. And, as we have already learned, they were a fierce, warlike people.

The battles and the massacres which followed played a vital role in the establishment of both attitudes and institutions among the Boers. Eventually these attitudes helped to establish apartheid as the law of the land. The two excerpts in Reading VII are eyewitness accounts of Boer-Bantu hostilities. As you read them, think about the following questions:

1. What brought about the massacre described by Reverend Owen? Did the Zulus feel the same way about all whites or only about the Boers? How would events like these influence Boer attitudes toward natives?

2. According to the account by the Boer elder, S. A. Celliers, what caused the war between Boer and Zulu? What was the attitude of the British government in the Cape Colony to these attacks?
3. Does Celliers' account of the activities of the missionary correspond with Mr. Owen's account of what happened? What do you make of this matter?
4. What role did religion play in the life of the Boers? What relationship do the Boers think they had with the Almighty?

I

The passage which follows is taken from the diary of an American missionary, the Reverend Francis Owen, who was working among the Zulu. It describes the murder of one of the greatest Boer national heroes, Piet Retief. Dingaan, the murderer, was a Zulu chief, the son of Shaka who was mentioned in Reading V.

AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY DESCRIBES A MASSACRE BY THE ZULUS*

February 2, 1838. - Dingaan sent for me at sunset to write a letter to Mr. Retief, who with a party of Boers is now on his way to the Zulu capital. The letter was characteristic of the chief. He said that his heart was now content, because he had got his cattle again. He requested that the chief of the Boers would send to all his people and order them to come up to the capital with him, but without their horses. He promised to gather together all his army to sing and dance. He said he would give orders that cattle should be slain for them in every place through which they passed on the road, and he promised to give them a country. I asked him how they could come without their horses. He said, "Tell them that they must bring their horses, and dance upon them, in the middle of the town, that it might be known which could dance best, the Zulus or the 'Abalungu'"(the general name given to white people). The Dutch will be too wise to expose themselves in this manner.

February 3, 1838. - Large parties of Zulus in their war-dress were yesterday evening entering the town. This morning, when we were at family prayer, the unusual sound of muskets was heard from the west. This proved to be the arrival of the Boers, who presently entered the town on horseback, with their guns in their hands. An immense concourse of Zulus were present to receive them. The deputation, in number about sixty, brought with them the cattle which they had recovered from Sikonyela. The Boers immediately showed Dingaan the way in which they danced on horseback, by making a sham charge at one another, making the air resound with their guns. This was something which the Zulu chief had never witnessed. In their turn, the Zulus exhibited their skill in dancing. About noon I paid a visit to Mr. Retief, who with his party, after the amusement was over, were sitting under the trees fronting the gate of the town. The answer which he gave Dingaan, when he demanded the guns and horses, was to show the messenger his grey hairs and bid him tell his master that he was not dealing with a child.

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*John Bird, THE ANNALS OF NATAL, 1495-1845. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1885. Vol. I, pp. 346-348.

February 6, 1838. - A dreadful day in the annals of the mission. I shudder to give an account of it. This morning, as I was sitting in the shade of my wagon, reading the Testament, the usual messenger came, with hurry and anxiety depicted in his looks. I was sure that he was about to pronounce something serious. And what was his commission? While it showed consideration and kindness in the Zulu monarch towards me, it disclosed a horrid instance of perfidy -- too horrid to describe -- towards the unhappy men who for a few days have been his guests, and are now no more. He sent to tell me not to be frightened, as he was going to kill the Boers. This news came like a thunderstroke to myself and to every successive member of my family as they heard it. The reason assigned for this treacherous act was that they were going to kill him; that they had come here, and that he had now learnt all their plans. The messenger was anxious for my answer; but what could I say? I was fearful on the one hand of seeming to justify the treachery: and on the other of exposing myself and my family to probable danger if I appeared to take their part. Moreover, I could not but feel that it was my duty to apprise the Boers of the intended massacre; while certain death would have ensued, I apprehended, if I had been detected in giving them this information. However, I was released from this dilemma by beholding an awful spectacle. My attention was directed to the blood-stained hill nearly opposite my hut, and on the other side of my wagon, which hides it from view, where all the executions at this fearful spot take place, and which was destined now to add sixty more bleeding carcasses to the number of those which have already cried to heaven for vengeance. "There!" said someone, "they are killing the Boers now!" I turned my eyes, and, behold! an immense multitude on the hill. About nine or ten Zulus to each Boer were dragging their helpless, unarmed victims to the fatal spot -- where those eyes which awaked this morning to see the cheerful light of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I laid myself down on the ground. Mrs. and Miss Owen were not more thunderstruck than myself. We comforted one another. Presently, the deed of blood being accomplished, the whole multitude returned to the town to meet their sovereign; and, as they drew near to him, set up a shout which reached the station, and continued for some time. Meanwhile, I myself had been kept from all fear for our personal safety; for I considered the message of Dingaan to me as an indication that he had no ill designs against the missionary, especially as the messenger informed me that the Boers' interpreter (an Englishman, from Port Natal) was to be preserved. Nevertheless, fears afterwards obtruded themselves on me when I saw half a dozen men, with shields, sitting near our hut; and I began to tremble lest we were to fall the next victims. At this crisis I called all my family in, and read Psalm xci.; so singularly and literally applicable to our present situation, that I could with difficulty proceed with it. I endeavoured to realise all its statements; and although I did not receive them as an absolute provision against sudden and violent death, I was led to Him who is our refuge from the guilt and fear of sin, which alone makes death terrible.

Dingaan's conduct was worthy of a savage, as he is. It was base and treacherous, to say the least of it; the offspring of cowardice and fear. Suspicious of his warlike neighbours, jealous of their power, dreading the neighbourhood of their arms, he felt, as every savage would have done in like circumstances, that these men were his enemies, and, being unable to attack them openly, he massacred them clandestinely. Two of the Boers paid me a visit this morning, and breakfasted only an hour or two before they were called into eternity. When I asked them what they thought of Dingaan, they said that he was good; -- so unsuspicious were they of his intentions. He had promised to assign over to them the whole country between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu Rivers, and this day the paper of transfer was to have been signed! My mind has always been filled with the notion that, however friendly the two powers have heretofore seemed to be, war, in the nature of things, was inevitable between them. . . .

II

The following account from the pen of a Boer elder, S. A. Celliers, describes battles between Boer and native about the same time as the massacre of Piet Retief. Moselikatze was chief of the Matabele, one of the Zulu tribes. Celliers' diary is sometimes difficult to follow because it contains no paragraphing and was not edited. We have preserved the flavor of the original account.

A BOER LEADER DESCRIBES EVENTS IN THE WARS AGAINST THE ZULU*

We first came in contact with Moselikatze at Vaal River. I had gone to Zoutpansberg, when a bitter massacre and robbery took place. And when, after the lapse of three months, I returned to our camp, I found it in a deplorable state. Many of our people had been murdered, and of our cattle a great number had been carried off by the enemy. With deep feeling I saw before my eyes those, still suffering, who had been wounded by the enemy. I felt heartbroken; and we returned to Rhenoster River. Then a number of us retreated to Valsch River, and we journeyed on to Vechtkop, above Rhenoster River. There we received intelligence from two natives that the forces of Moselikatze were again coming towards us, and were then at Vaal River. We sent word of this to those of our people who were at Valsch River, with the request that they would speedily come to our assistance; but when they received the report they retired in haste, and fled as far as Moroko. We sent out two scouts to ascertain the truth, and one of them discovered the native army. From the time that we had heard of this commando (army), we had drawn our camp together, and protected it with branches of thorns as much as we were able. In the morning early we drew out from our encampment, with thirty-three men, to meet the natives, and we found them at a distance of an hour-and-a-half's ride from our camp. When they saw us, they gathered together in great haste, and sat down in a line, side by side, close together. We rode up to them till within a distance of fifty paces. I had a Hottentot servant who could speak the language well. I desired him to speak to them loudly and distinctly, and ask what evil we had done them, and why they had come to murder us and rob us of our property. When they heard this, they all rose to their feet and exclaimed, "Moselikatze!" No other word. We jumped from our horses and opened as heavy a fire as we could on our enemies. There was confusion amongst them until I had fired my third shot. Then they arranged themselves in line, and from this extended themselves in another direction, with the view of surrounding us and cutting off our retreat; and on account of the great force that we had against us we were under the necessity of retreating, and fighting as we retired, till we reached our camp. Many natives had been killed before we arrived there. I had fired sixteen shots at the enemy before we came back to the camp, seldom missing, and often hitting as many as two or three at a shot. When we got back, we found that our wives had moulded a great quantity of bullets for our use. The natives divided themselves into three sections at some distance from our camp. We estimated their numbers at 2,000 in each division. They gave us time to wash our guns, and also to secure our camp still more, and to make every arrangement that I considered necessary. Then I called all together, and addressed a few words to them, to the effect that we had a holy God, invested with Almighty power in heaven and on earth; and that we must unite in humbling ourselves before Him, and in praying to Him in His heaven, and that all must pray in heart with me. And we all knelt down, our wives and children too, and I prayed to God, that, in His boundless mercy, He would have regard to us in our great need, and, if it were consistent with His counsels, would not forsake us, but would strengthen us to resist our enemy; and so forth. When all this was over, I gave directions what further should be done; and I directed this because I saw that there had been a want of foresight on the part of those men who, on our account, had come to an evil end. I also gave an injunction that not a voice of woman or child should be heard. I had seven wagons drawn into the middle of the camp, in which the women and children were to be placed, when the fighting should begin. It was also my order that when the natives advanced towards us, all should wait till I had fired the first shot. This was acted upon. Some one then proposed that we should attach a white sheet to a whip-stick and hoist it. I approved of this, and it was done. There was then a great commotion among the divisions of the native force: messages were exchanged between them; and they came immediately and surrounded us in our little encampment, leaving no opening for a passage through: and then they came marching on. I had two guns, one loaded with slugs, the other with ball. When they were about thirty yards off, I fired with the slugs, and then took the other gun. Fearful violence was used by the enemy in their efforts to wrench away the thorn-boughs, but these had been well secured in the nicks of the drag-chains. The wagons were wrenched more than six inches beyond the other line. The wagon in which I was had seventy-two stabs in the sail. When the fight was over, two men had been killed on our side, and fourteen wounded, of whom I was one. Round the camp, 430 of the enemy lay dead. 1,172 spears had been thrown into the camp. Two horses were killed and one wounded. The enemy then carried off all our means of sustenance. I had a wife and seven children, and was without corn or millet, besides being incapacitated for hunting. I had to taste the cup of bitterness. My children cried from hunger, and I did the same, and had nothing to give them. Fifteen days passed by, and we had to remain in the encampment. Then we received some oxen from Mr. Andswill, and from our brethren who had gone to Moroko, when they had received the report from us. Then by God's mercy we were delivered. I have omitted to say that when the attack was made at Vechtkop, the number of children and of all capable of firing a shot was forty. Arriving at Moroko and at the abode of the Rev. Mr. Archbell, he and his lady provided us in our great need with corn and millet. We were then very desirous that a raiding party should go against our enemy, and we sought to procure help from our fellow-burghers on this side of the Great River; but the British Government forbade it wholly, and threatened that if any gave us help they would be heavily punished. It was a bitter experience, and necessity obliged us to advance against our powerful foe with only 107 men; and our God delivered him into our hands, so that we gave him a severe defeat, and took 6,000 head of cattle from him, without the loss of a man of our number. After that we again took the field against him, and again the Lord our God gave him into our hands, so that we overcame him. More than 3,000 of his people were slain, and they abandoned the territory; and that which had been his became ours. We were then hesitating in our thoughts whether we should proceed to Natal or to Zoutpansberg; but Mr. Retief, who had been with a commission to Natal for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was under Her Majesty's dominion, returned and assured us that Natal was still free, and also that he had been to influence Dingaan, and that the Zulus had ceded the country from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River, on condition that if (Sikonyela having taken 900 head of cattle from Dingaan) Mr. Retief should recover these, then the territory, as I have described it, was to be given over to us. We accordingly directed our course to Natal. But one woe had passed away, another was approaching. When we were in the country about the Tugela, Blaauwkrantz, and Bushman's River, Retief (with 100 men) repaired to Sikonyela's country, and without firing a shot took 1,100 head of cattle, and drove them, having sixty-five men with him, according to agreement, to Dingaan as the price of the district ceded to us, as before said. But, alas! how dark a cloud was impending over us! As we have since been informed, a missionary had, in Retief's absence, been with

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*John Bird, THE ANNALS OF NATAL, Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1885. Vol. I, pp. 238-245.

Dingaan. The king enquired of him who the emigrants were, and the answer was that "we were deserters from our king." He then asked the missionary how, in his opinion, he, Dingaan, should act in our regard, and was told that he ought to know without being told what should be done with such vagrants. So far as we have learned, Dingaan was very friendly to Retief when he arrived, and complied with his desire very fully as to the recognition of their previous negotiation regarding the territory. He signed the agreement, and then invited Retief and his companions to come and eat and drink with him. Then his treachery manifested itself in the death of martyrdom which all our friends were doomed to undergo. But our God, too, saw it, and from His holy throne directed His counsels. We were waiting for the return of our chosen ruler from Dingaan's country. But the first intelligence we received was a formidable "commando" sent by Dingaan, which perpetrated cruel and bloodthirsty murder amongst us; so that 500 of our number were slain. But our God did not wholly forsake us. We acknowledge that our God, from His heaven, looked down on us in His mercy, and He strengthened with His might those of us who remained alive, to take up our weapons again, and I can affirm that I strove, and that I, like Jephthah, had my life in my hand. With five men I rescued the camp of Gert Barends, which was on the point of being overpowered by the great force of the enemy. This camp was open on one side, the wagons being drawn in a half-moon. When we were at some distance, and I saw the great danger of the disaster about to occur, I said to my brothers, "Have God before your eyes; let not a hair of your head show fear, and follow me." We gave the rein to our horses, and I shouted as loudly as I could, for I saw that the natives were running swiftly round the camp to rush in at the opening by storm. Yes! had we come five minutes later, the whole camp would have been a bath of blood; but our great God prevented it, and said to our enemy, "Thus far, and no farther." Our enemies were terrified, and their hands were weakened. Five men liberated the camp, with God's assistance. The Bushman's River was rapid. Five men drove the natives into the stream, and more were drowned than we had shot. I had fired so many shots that the barrel of my gun became heated, and to such a degree that I feared in loading lest the powder should ignite. . . .

Another commando was then sent against Dingaan; but, alas! on this occasion, Pieter Uys, a gallant commander, fell with ten men. Again a bitter woe had to be endured. Commandant Potgieter, with more than half of our people, left the country -- retiring over the mountains. We were thus greatly weakened. At that time we were in two encampments -- the one at Bushman's River, the other at the Tugela; and Dingaan again sent a force to attack the camp at Bushman's River; but on this occasion none of our men were killed, whilst very many of the enemy were shot down. The greater number of the emigrants were then inclined to quit the country. I made a proposal that three of us should go and make an effort to procure assistance: if we failed, then on our return the territory should be forsaken. Three were deputed to go -- myself, Frans Hatting, and Willem Pretorius. We obtained assistance from Andries Pretorius. He came with many followers, as did also Pieter

Jacobs. We were thus enabled to muster a force of 400 men. With these we went forth, under the great disadvantage of so small a number against the powerful nation under Dingaan. We saw this, and that if the good God was not with us, there was little hope of victory. I saw, to the extent of the light granted to me, that we must become suppliants to the Lord to entreat that He would be with us at our standard, as He was with Moses and Joshua. I made the people sensible that if the Lord were not with us we must be overwhelmed. Mr. Andries Pretorius was our chosen general in that expedition. He and I spoke to each other on the subject of the promises made holy by the Bible, and how we, too, were bound to make a promise to the Lord, that if He gave us the victory over our enemy, we should consecrate that day, and keep it holy as a Sabbath in each year. But I recalled the words of David: "Make promise, but pay the promised thing, saith the Lord;" -- for it was better that we should not promise, than that we should promise and not fulfil. It was the desire of Pretorius that we should make the promise collectively. There were still a number of our people and a commandant who had not yet joined us. I said we must delay till Jacobus Uys should be present. He joined us at the Tugela. We spoke to him on the subject of the vow, and it was his desire also that it should be made. The fieldcornets concurred in this. We then came to the determination that we should make a solemn promise to the Lord our God, that if He were with us, and gave the enemy into our hands, we should consecrate to the Lord the day in each year, and keep it holy as a Sabbath-day. We moved on to "Dancekraal." We determined that at that place the pledge should be given, and it was the general feeling that I should give it in the name of all. The general issued an order that no man should be absent on the occasion. It was on 7th December, 1838. I complied to the best of my weak capacity with the wish of all the officers, and I knew that the majority of the burghers concurred in the wish. I took my place on a gun-carriage. The 407 men of the force were assembled round me. I made the promise in a simple manner, as solemnly as the Lord enabled me to do. As nearly as I can remember, my words were these: -- "My brethren and fellow-countrymen, at this moment we stand before the holy God of heaven and earth, to make a promise, if He will be with us and protect us, and deliver the enemy into our hands so that we may triumph over him, that we shall observe the day and the date as an anniversary in each year, and a day of thanksgiving like the Sabbath, in His honour; and that we shall enjoin our children that they must take part with us in this, for a remembrance even for our posterity; and if anyone sees a difficulty in this, let him retire from the place. For the honour of His name will be joyfully exalted, and to Him the fame and the honour of the victory must be given." I said, further, that we must join in prayer to be raised up to the throne of His grace; and so forth. And I raised my hands towards the heavens in the name of us all. Moreover, we confirmed this in our prayers each evening, as well as on the next Sabbath. Every evening, at three places, there was an evening service. The Lord was with us. . . .

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Reading VIII

BOER AND BRITON: THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

British interference in South African affairs did not stop when the South African Republic and the Orange Free State achieved independence in the 1850s. The English retained Natal and the Cape Colony as part of Her Majesty's Empire. (See map on the following page.) To the distress of the British, the Boer Republics continued to fight with the neighboring native tribes. English inhabitants of the northern part of the Cape Colony and Natal feared that these wars might spill over into their own areas. This danger drew British attention to Boer internal affairs.

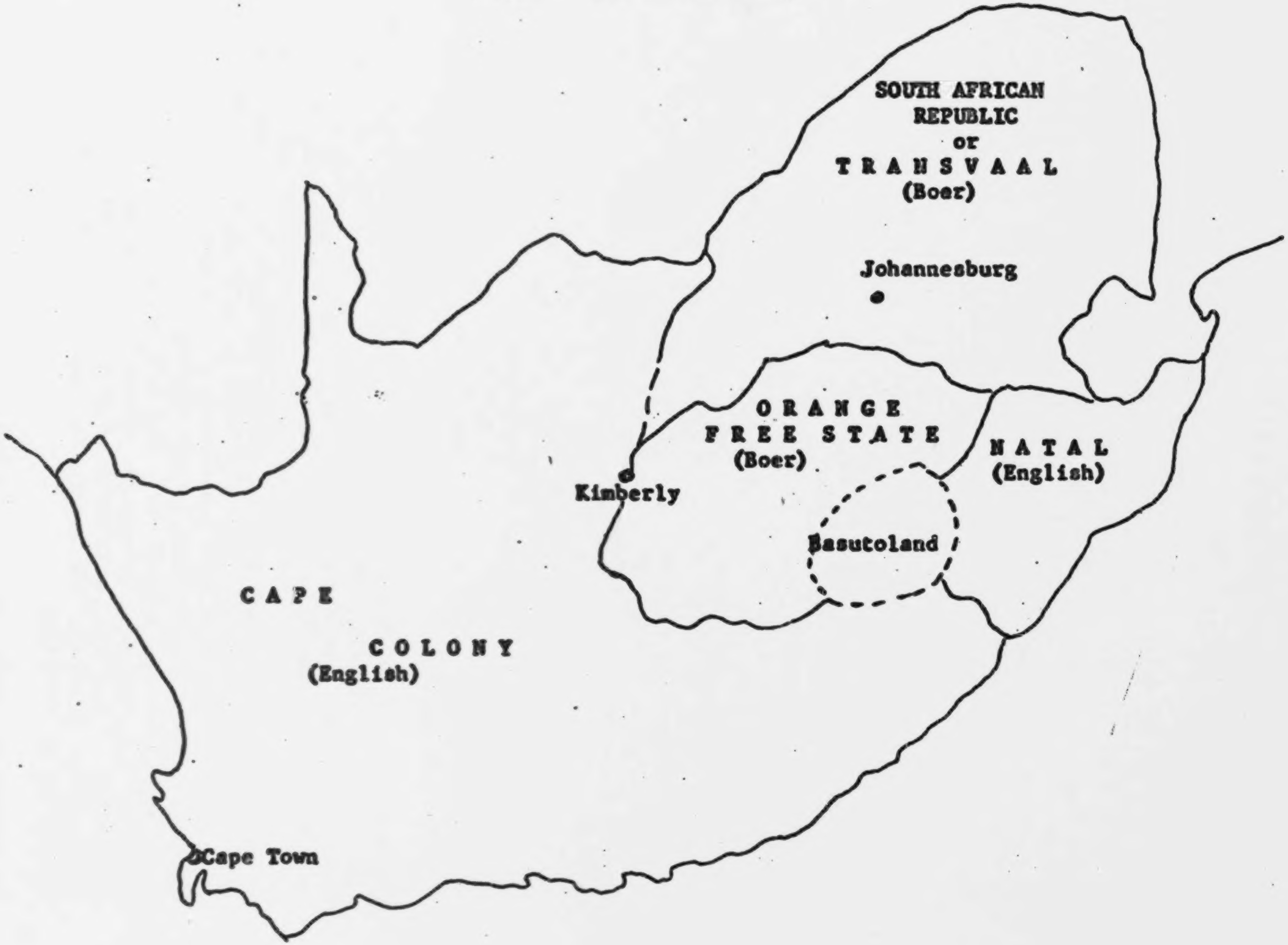
British interest in the Republics intensified in the late 1860s when a few Boer children found a diamond on the banks of the Orange River. This discovery was a prelude to the findings at Kimberley in the early 1870s. The Kimberley diggings became the richest diamond find in the world. Overnight, Kimberley became the largest city in South Africa. Territorial disputes erupted over the rightful ownership of the land. Nicholas Waterboer, chief of a coloured tribe called Griquas, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, President of the Transvaal South African Republic, and President J. H. Brand of the Orange Free State all claimed the land for their respective nations. The British government sided with the coloured chief and "protected" the Griqua claim by annexing the Kimberley diamond diggings to the British Crown. The Boers were angry, but did nothing.

In 1877, continued British concern over Boer-native frictions resulted in the annexation of the South African Republic to the British Empire. This time the Boers fought back. In a series of swift encounters the rugged Boers defeated the professional British army, reestablishing Boer independence in 1881.

The Boers then settled down to what they thought would be a period of uninterrupted calm, but they were again disappointed. In 1886, prospectors stumbled upon the Witwatersrand gold fields near Johannesburg in the South African Republic. These mines proved to be the richest gold deposits in the world. The Boers could not control the influx of miners, adventurers, speculators, and fortune-seekers who pushed the population of Johannesburg to one hundred thousand residents before the city was ten years old. The temptations of easy wealth in the diamond and gold industries attracted British business corporations, headed by such people as Cecil John Rhodes. The Boer government, built on the values of a cattle-raising culture, lacked both the resources and the experience to deal with sophisticated British corporate officials. Within a few years the British and Boer governments were once again headed for a collision.

On October 11, 1899, the violence began. Boers call the war "The

SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1854-1900


SOUTH AFRICAN
REPUBLIC
or
TRANSVAAL
(Boer)
Johannesburg
ORANGE
FREE STATE
(Boer)
NATAL
(English)
Basutoland
Kimberly
CAPE
COLONY
(English)
Cape Town

Second Freedom War;" the British refer to it as "The South African War." Either way, the Boer War was the end, at least temporarily, of independence for the Afrikaners. The British were determined to put an end to the century of petty bickering that characterized their South African administrations. Although the Boers could muster only 87,000 soldiers, Her Majesty's forces used a total of 448,000 men. With odds like this, the result was not a matter of courage, but only of time. After holding out for three years, the Boers decided in the spring of 1902 that further opposition was impossible. Their surrender paved the way for British annexation of the whole of South Africa.

Once in control of South Africa, the British government faced a new dilemma: what to do with their new possessions. The population was a mixture of Briton, Boer, Bantu, Cape Coloured, and a smattering of fringe groups. There was little hope that these people would be able to form a government that would provide justice for all interests. On the other hand, English statesmen were preoccupied with the conflicts that eventually developed into World War I. They had little time to devote to South African affairs. After a few years of uncertainty, the British Parliament passed the South Africa Act establishing a loose "union" in South Africa. The four member states, Natal, Cape Province, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, were bound together under a unitary parliament and governor, but with many powers, such as franchise requirements, retained by the individual provinces. In May, 1910, the Union of South Africa achieved the status of an independent British dominion. It became a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1926.

At best, the Union was a temporary answer to the problems of a multiracial and multi-cultural society. During the First World War several former Boer generals led a pro-German revolt which threatened to dissolve the Union. The movement fizzled; the Union was preserved. Through the twenties and early thirties political leadership drifted precariously close to collapse. It appeared to stabilize in 1934 when two Boer leaders, Jan Christian Smuts and General James Hertzog, formed the coalition United Party. The coalition might have lasted had it not been for Hitler and Nazi Germany.

During the momentous first days of September, 1939, while Hitler's blitzkrieg was destroying innocent Poland, the South African Parliament met to determine its course of action. Smuts and the moderates pledged themselves against Germany and sought a declaration of war. Hertzog and Dr. D. F. Malan proposed neutrality. Here were the old Boer sentiments bubbling forth again. These men had not forgotten the Boer War; they resented attempts to use the English language in the schools; they resisted English efforts to raise the status of non-whites. Now, when asked to pledge themselves for or against England, they refused to take a stand. The final vote was 80 for joining with England and 67 for remaining neutral.

When the war came to a close there was no chance for a return to the pre-war coalition. The rift was irreparable. In 1948, campaigning on a platform of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, the Nationalist Party captured 70 parliamentary seats, the dying United Party, 65. Since this narrow victory the Nationalist reign has continued without interruption, gaining strength with every election. D. F. Malan, the first Nationalist Prime Minister, resigned in 1954 in favor of the younger and more fiery J. G. Strydom. His untimely death in 1958 opened the office for Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd (pronounced fair-vort) who is still the Prime Minister today (1964). Page three of this volume contains a list of the racist legislation that the Nationalist Party has sponsored.

The final act of defiance against the British government took place in the spring of 1961. The setting was London, the occasion, a conference of Prime Ministers from all members of the British Commonwealth. Mr. Julius Nyerere, the African leader of Tanganyika (now Tanzania), announced that when his country achieved independence he wanted no part in a Commonwealth that included the apartheid policies of South Africa. In an effort to smooth things over, John Diefenbaker of Canada suggested that all Commonwealth members should pledge their opposition to racial discrimination. This was too much for Verwoerd. He announced South Africa's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth. Upon his return home the South African Parliament affirmed his statement, and the Republic of South Africa was born.

Thus, in a little more than one hundred years, the Afrikaner Boers have come full circle from the status of independent Boer Republics in the 1850s to an independent Republic of South Africa in the 1960s. The ironic swing has solidified the doctrine that Africans are inferior to Afrikaners; the government has cast its racialism into law; the non-whites in South Africa are presently bearing the burden of this onerous system.

The first seven readings in this unit traced the history of racial and cultural conflict in South Africa. Reading VIII, written by a professor at a South African university, describes the five major characteristics of Afrikaner nationalism which grew out of these conflicts. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What are the major characteristics of Afrikaner nationalism? Is it similar to German nationalism? To American?

2. Why did Afrikaner nationalism develop? How was it related to the total culture?

3. How might Afrikaner nationalism lead to apartheid?

CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM *

* Floris A. van Jaarsveld, AWAKENING OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM, 1868-1881, Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1961. Translated by F. R. Metrowich, pp. 221-224.

Professor van Jaarsveld argues that the development of Afrikaner Nationalism took place in the latter part of the nineteenth century, largely as the result of the unique history of the Afrikan speaking people. He identifies five basic characteristics to the growth of this movement:

1. The process of national self-awakening.
2. The emphasis on the idea of "nation" and "fatherland."
3. The extension of an urge towards self-preservation and the maintenance of national identity.
4. A sense of having been called and chosen by a supreme religious being.
5. The love of the nation's past and a worship of the "pious" ancestors of the Afrikan speaking people.

The author concludes that "the struggle of the past was the struggle of the present, and the struggle of the present the same as that of the past."

SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID

Stating the Issue

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Boers annihilated the Hottentots, the small tribes of Africans they first encountered when they landed on the Cape. They were not able to annihilate the more numerous Bantu. These fierce warriors, organized into large political units, could summon thousands of men to battle at once against the invaders. But Boer and Bantu had little in common. Forced to live in the same land, they never grew to understand each other or to share a common way of life.

The case of Boer and Briton was different. Although the two groups were far apart in many ways, they also had much in common. They were both white so that no color bar set one man off from the other. They were both European with enough in common that assimilation or accommodation were possible given the right setting. After all, seventeenth century Dutch and English settlers of New York were soon living amicably as neighbors, intermarrying, and fighting together against Britain.

But Boer and Briton never became one in Africa. The Boers believed that the British had pushed them out of their rightful home and deprived them of their heritage. Bitter wars broke out between them. Within the two communities somewhat different institutions emerged; even different forms of nationalism developed. Eventually the descendants of the Boers seized complete control of the machinery of government forcing the British to take second place. Still Boer and Briton had more in common than white and native.

In the meantime the development of gold and diamond mining followed by the growth of manufacturing produced an insistent demand for labor. The whites who owned these new establishments used natives to work them. Today realistic whites know that their industries cannot run without native labor; more and more, this labor needs education and skill. Education, an enlarged industrial labor force and increased economic welfare, however, may well spell the end of the separation of races in South Africa. Whites, outnumbered four to one by a native population uprooted from tribal ways and not yet acclimated to urban industrial society are unready to concede racial equality. Instead they are trying to establish apartheid.

Readings IX through XVI examine the problem of apartheid in South Africa. They begin with two accounts of the life of the present-day Bantu on their reserves. The next three readings are descriptions of the life of the natives in towns and cities. They reveal the difficulties of men who live with one foot planted in each of two cultures. A defense of apartheid and an attack upon this basic social institution follow. The final reading raises the question of the direction in which South Africa will go. Can apartheid exist in the modern world? Can it be established in the face of the need for skilled labor in industry? If it cannot, what social arrangement will take its place? These are the questions with which we will be concerned in Readings IX through XVI.

Reading IX

THE CULTURE OF BANTU TRIBESMEN

A person torn from a traditional society and thrust into a modern, urban, industrial environment finds his entire life disrupted. Everything changes. In his village he knew every house, every person, even the names of his cattle. The rules which governed his life had been laid down generations before and were never questioned. There was no need to change accepted ways because no new situations occurred to demand change.

But what will happen when you place a man from a traditional society in a mine or a factory? He will live in a new environment where he will not even know the relatives of the man who works at his side. He will learn to be at home only in the few blocks around his apartment; the remainder of the city will be foreign to him. Both at work and at home he will constantly face new situations and new demands for change in his customary behavior. In a situation like this, old values will quickly break down and men, uprooted from one world and unable to establish themselves in another, will lose direction in their lives.

To understand the problems of the natives of South Africa and to understand why many whites there are so hostile to them, we must come to learn about the lives they led in their villages. These lives conditioned their adjustment to factory, mine and city. Reading IX describes a typical day in the life of Bantu living in their traditional society. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Who was a Bantu accustomed to having as his neighbor? How well would he know his neighbors and the details of their lives?

2. What roles did adult men play in the society? Adult women? Boys and girls? What gave people prestige?

3. What roles did ceremony and ritual play in the society? How did ceremony and ritual influence decision-making in government? Patterns of recreation? Why stress this question?

4. Did the Bantu place a high premium upon accumulating wealth? Upon rational processes? Upon adaptability to new demands?

5. How adaptable to an urban, industrial society was Bantu culture? How might a Boer settler accept the prospect of having Bantu as his next door neighbor? Of being governed by Bantu? Would he feel the same way about the British? Why or why not?

THE DAILY LIFE OF A BANTU VILLAGE*

* Isaac Schapera (ed.) THE BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA, London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1937, "Domestic and Communal Life," by G. P. Lestrade.

Dr. Lestrade describes a typical Bantu Village. The sections are broken into early morning, the morning meal, the later morning and afternoon, the late afternoon, the evening meal, and the evening. Students are encouraged to ask questions of economic, social and political analysis in order to determine how a person growing up in a traditional Bantu village would act when placed in a European environment.

Reading X

BANTU SOCIETY: CHILDHOOD, EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE

"As the twig is bent, so grows the tree." This ancient saying indicates the role which childhood plays in the development of the man. Notice the use of the word childhood rather than the term education. In many ways, the most important parts of a person's education even today take place outside of formal schoolrooms. Children learn to speak at home. A child learns what behavior will be rewarded and what will earn him a thrashing. He receives his basic value system from his parents and establishes his basic patterns of behavior. The child is indeed the seed of the man.

How a man will behave as a miner, a factory worker or a household servant depends in large part upon his upbringing. If he is to function well in these roles, he must be educated for them. He must learn to accept changing patterns of behavior if he is to move from a traditional society to a modern one. He must accept the fact that decisions in a modern society are made as a result of rational decisions and not on any other basis. Finally, he must be willing to accept the major institutions of a new society if he is ever to become part of it.

Reading X describes the education of young Bantu men and women. It includes an analysis of informal education in the home, formal education and initiation into the tribe, and finally, preparation for the marriage ceremony. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. In the broadest sense of the term, how were Bantu children educated? What were the major objectives of the educational system?

2. What virtues were most prized among the Bantu? How did children learn about this value system?

3. How were marriage customs related to the entire texture of Bantu society? What about the care of widows?

4. Did Bantu education and child rearing practices prepare young people to live in an urban, industrial economy? If you were a South African anxious to prepare Bantu to live in the modern world, what changes would you make in the educational system?

LEARNING TO BE A BANTU*

* Isaac Schapera (ed.), THE BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA, London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1937, "Individual Development," by Eileen Jensen Krige.

This selection, taken from the same Schapera volume as the article for Reading IX, acquaints the student with the educational system of a Bantu tribe. Bantu children learn either through rituals and ceremonies, or by imitating their parents. The author notes that the purposes of education in a Bantu tribe are altogether different than that of a European society. Students are asked to point out these differences and to suggest the implicationsof the differing techniques of education.

Reading XI

THE IMPACT OF MINING AND MANUFACTURING

Originally the economy of South Africa was based upon agriculture and grazing. The first Dutch settlers had established their colony on the Cape to serve as a way-station for ships on their way to and from the Indies. As the Boer trekkers moved inland, they continued to earn their livelihood primarily as cattle men. This general pattern remained undisturbed until near the end of the nineteenth century.

Then gold and diamonds were discovered. This development triggered a series of battles between the Boers and the British which eventually resulted in the Boer War. It also brought the whites face-to-face with the problem of how to recruit a labor force. Not enough whites lived in the Cape Colony to man the new mines and keep the remainder of the economy going. Inevitably the whites recruited African labor. The Bantu, torn from their kraals, became miners buried for much of each day in the bowels of the earth.

In the twentieth century, manufacturing followed in turn. South Africa is rich in natural resources. It has extensive deposits of coal and of high-grade iron ore as well as significant quantities of copper and other ferrous metals. The cattle industry provides leather for shoemaking and other crafts. Capital from the mines as well as from Europe provided the buildings and machinery for new industry which grew apace. Again the whites were forced to use natives for the majority of new industrial jobs.

Using Bantu labor reared for life in a traditional society presented a whole host of problems to the owners of mine and factory. Some mine owners simply recruited young men, housed them in compounds near the mines, forbade them to leave these compounds and held them virtually in peonage. Factory owners in cities could not exercise such complete control over their hired hands. Here whole Bantu families moved into urban slums from which the men ventured forth each morning to their jobs in the factories. But what were the whites to do when the complexities of a modern factory demanded an educated and well-trained labor force? This question has yet to be answered.

Reading XI describes life in a typical mining compound and analyzes the problems which manufacturers face as they seek to industrialize. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What effect would life in a mining compound have upon a native recently imported from the traditional society you have read about? How would this economic role affect the social and political system of such men?

2. How did the whites try to fit natives to their new roles as miners? Why behave in this manner?

3. How has the introduction of manufacturing affected the relationships of whites and natives? How will it be likely to affect them in the future?

4. If mining and manufacturing are to be extended in South Africa, what reforms in the educational system will probably have to take place? Is it practical to have a modern economy in the midst of a social system based upon apartheid?

BANTU IN MINE AND FACTORY *

* Basil Davidson, REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA, London: Jonathon Cape, 1952, pp. 102-114.

The author describes the growth of industrialization in South Africa. He notes that the original impetus for industrialization was the mining industry. However, in more recent years, the introduction of steel, textiles, and other manufacturing interests have given South Africa a well-diversified industrial base. Written in an interesting style, this article gives the student a knowledge of the factors which are drawing native Bantu from the rural to urban areas.

Reading XII

FINDING OUT ABOUT BANTU LIFE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

(The reading selections for Lessons XII and XIII is one article divided into two parts. The description of that article is contained following the introductory notes to Reading XIII.)

Reading XII

FINDING OUT ABOUT BANTU LIFE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

Thousands of Bantu tribesmen have been forced to make the transition from pastoral or agricultural life to urban conditions. This transition has affected every aspect of their lives. In cities they live in strange houses crowded together under conditions unknown in their native kraals. Instead of tending cattle the men work in the cities and the women, no longer farming or caring for the home, sell illegal beer, work as servants, take in washing or sometimes become prostitutes. Families are disrupted because the women are outside the home. A large number of children are sent by their parents to be reared in the country; the remainder often run out of control through the crowded courtyards. In these conditions, systems of values, the customary sanctions which kept order and even the religious beliefs of the Africans tend to change. Imagine how difficult it would be to grow up in such a society in which no ways were safe or sacred and where ancient traditions no longer continued to explain the meaning of life.

In order to find out about the effects of moving from a traditional to a modern society, anthropologists have studied and lived among the Bantu in their city homes. They have written accounts of their study which include not only their conclusions but also the methods they used to gather evidence and to make inferences from it. These records give us valuable insights into the mode of inquiry of anthropology. Readings XII and XIII come from one of these reports written by Ellen Hellman. As you read No. XII, concentrate on the method of inquiry which is being used. Think about the following questions:

1. What techniques of gathering information did Miss Hellman employ? Do you think the information she received was reliable? Could she trust her informants? Why did she describe her research techniques to her readers?
2. How did Miss Hellmann report her information? Look at paragraphs 7 through 10. Then read the last paragraph in Reading XIII. How do the two passages differ from each other? How did Miss Hellmann build her interpretation?
3. Why was the material culture of the West adopted so readily by the residents of the slum yard? For what social purposes are some material objects used? Did some natives buy pianos for the same reasons that some Americans buy expensive new automobiles?

Reading XIII

LIFE IN A JOHANNESBURG SLUM YARD

Reading XII concerned methods of investigating life among the Bantu living in a Johannesburg slum yard. Reading XIII concerns life in the yard and has somewhat less emphasis upon the method of investigation and upon the way in which data are reported. Instead it details the daily round of life in the yard and contains the conclusions which the author drew as the end product of her investigation.

Readings IX and X both described life among the Bantu in their native villages. There tradition set the pattern of living. Separated into small villages and dependent upon herds and agriculture for their living, the Bantu lived out their lives much as their ancestors had except that inter-tribal wars no longer played a vital role in the society. But most of the remainder of the life of the natives had been unaffected by contact with the West. Only in mining towns and manufacturing cities had the Bantu been forced to adapt to the ways of an alien culture. As the pastoral economy which sustained their lives fades away before population growth and the encroachments of the whites on the best lands, more and more of the natives will be forced into towns and cities.

What will happen to them there? Are they equipped with the skills and the desire to adjust to a modern society? The social structure of a Johannesburg slum yard gives us evidence about these questions. They are questions vital to the future of the Republic of South Africa. If natives can adjust to modern life in one generation, then the problem of integrating them with a white society will be far less difficult than if several generations are required. If the customs of native and white are similar enough that the two groups can live comfortably side by side, then apartheid may not seem so essential to the Afrikaners. The problems of adjustment may give us some insights into the reasons why the Boers want to keep the Africans in their own preserves. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What happened to the tribal loyalties and distinct tribal ways in the Yard? Why?
2. Why did women have to work? Why is the illegal beer business so popular? Why beer rather than some other beverage or food?
3. What happened to the family solidarity of Yard dwellers?
4. Why does fine or imprisonment bear little stigma for these Africans?
5. How have some Yard residents tried to adapt tribal customs to slum life?
6. Why is neither Christianity nor the old tribal religion satisfactory to residents of the Yard? How is the attitude to religion related to the attitude to magic?
7. How might a Boer use the evidence from this article to defend apartheid?

* Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg (eds.), CULTURES AND SOCIETIES OF AFRICA, New York: Random House, 1961, Ellen Hellmann, "Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard," pp. 546-564.

Miss Hellmann spent approximately one year in a Bantu "slum yard" near Johannesburg in the early 1930's. Her vivid description of the yard itself and the practices of the people living there provide firsthand information on the problems of a traditional Bantu culture trying to live in an industrial and technologically sophisticated urban environment. She notes that status in role for male and female is different in the slum yard than it was in the Bantu village. She finds that the Africans are unable to maintain the same family structure which they followed in their villages. She also observes that the educational, religious, dietary, sanitary and leisure time activities in the slum yard are far different from those activities in their tribal villages. She concludes that "while there is ample evidence of a rapid absorption of western material culture, the assimilation of western spiritual culture is proceeded at a far more leisurely pace." This reading gives the student abundant evidence to describe the problems of a culturation and the way in which these problems may have contributed to the institutions of Apartheid.

Reading XIV

A CASE FOR APARTHEID

There are five possible relationships that can be established between two groups which come into contact. The two cultures and the two groups can merge until they become indistinguishable. The two groups can assimilate, that is they can merge traits from their two cultures without amalgamating biologically. They can also accommodate to each other by eliminating or lessening the issues which bring conflict between them. If the differences between the two groups seem too great to make any of these three alternatives possible, they can divide the country between them, a policy called apartheid in South Africa. Finally, if one group is sufficiently powerful and ruthless, it can exterminate the other.

Most of white South Africa has chosen apartheid as an ideal. Apartheid is the declared goal of the present South African government. Several steps, outlined at the beginning of Reading I, have already begun to make the lives of native and white as separate as possible. But the necessity to man the wheels of industry and to perform the more menial work of a modern society makes the immediate establishment of a full system of apartheid exceedingly difficult. Even Afrikaner leaders concede that many decades, perhaps centuries, will pass before apartheid is complete. in the meantime, South Africa may explode into racial war.

What do South African Nationalists have to say about their system? Today's reading helps, in part, to answer this question. Dr. Hilgard Muller, former South African United Nations delegate and presently Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa, delivered a speech to the English Speaking Union in New York City in November, 1963. He outlined the philosophy of apartheid and discussed the progress made since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. Keep the following questions in mind as you read his speech:

1. On what grounds does Muller defend the system?
2. What seems to be the goal of the system, as defined by Muller?
3. Muller states that apartheid is "in accordance with the fundamental philosophies of the West." Why does he make such a statement? Do you agree with the statement?

LET THE WORLD TAKE NOTE*

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*Speech delivered by Dr. Hilgard Muller, Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa as found in Progress Through Separate Development published by the South African Information Service, pp. 19-41.

The problem was to find a satisfactory pattern for co-existence between the white and non-white population groups in South Africa. The solution suggested to the electorate in the 1948 General Election was Separate Development. It was accepted and it was with that mandate that the present Government of the Republic proceeded to its task.

In London in March, 1961, the South African Prime Minister declared: "We want each of our population groups to control and govern themselves, as is the case with other nations. Then they can co-operate as in a commonwealth -- in an economic association with the Republic and each other. . . South Africa will in all honesty and fairness proceed to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence."

He elaborated on this projection as follows: "I envisage development along the lines similar to that of the British Commonwealth. In other words, I perceive the development of a Commonwealth of South Africa in which the white State and the black States. . . .can co-operate together, without being joined in a federation and therefore without being under a central government but co-operating as separate and independent states. In such an association no state will lord it over any other."

The ideals and ideas enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd point to the destination of his Government's policy. But the translation of such conceptions into practical reality is not the work of a day or a year. We have, as a rule, avoided the stresses and strains of five-year plans and ten-year plans which never seem to come to fruition in any year. Our progress towards the goals outlined by the responsible leader of the Government has been dictated by the pace at which it is possible to move.

If we turn now to consider the progress actually achieved, I think you may find it not unimpressive. Many visitors and observers from other countries have been kind enough to say that it has been astonishing.

Never in her history has the pace of progress been more pronounced or more purposeful than it is at present in South Africa. Never before has the Republic been more prosperous than she is now. The wheels of industry turn faster than they have ever done before -- continually oiled by ever larger injections of capital -- both domestic and foreign. Much of the foreign money comes from your country, as direct investment and not "foreign aid."

Economic Boom

Throughout the country the current rate of economic expansion is virtually without precedent. Last year, for example, the gross national product increased by 7.5 per cent. In the first half of 1963 the output of our factories rose by 11 per cent.

Recently a report to the United Nations Budget Committee stated that there are only 26 "developed" countries in the world. In all Africa there is only one such country -- and that country is South Africa. Even now South Africa produces twice as much steel and electricity as the rest of Africa combined. And already work has started on expansion programs that will double this output within a decade.

The Republic has also embarked upon what will eventually be one of the largest irrigation and hydro-electric projects in the world. The Orange River is to be harnessed in a network of power stations stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, bringing water to thousands of farms, to new industries and to towns and cities.

Some three billion dollars will be invested in these -- and other -- projects during the next ten years. All this money can come from our own domestic resources. Most of it will. Some will come from foreign investors. But not one cent will be foreign aid.

Meanwhile South Africa continues to produce most of the free world's gold as well as more gem diamonds, more chrome, and more platinum than any other country.

Meanwhile, too, the standard of living of all South Africa's peoples has been rising more rapidly than that of most countries in the world. In fact, in the last decade, the rate of increase in the per capita income of all South Africa's citizens equalled that of the United States and Australia, and exceeded those of Canada and New Zealand. A leading economist recently stated that the standard of living in South Africa had doubled in the last forty years, and predicted that the average standard of living for all sections of South Africa's population will be -- by the turn of the century -- about what it is today for Europe.

It is an undisputed fact that the non-white people of South Africa already have medical services and modern housing which are second to none compared with the rest of the non-white world.

As far as education is concerned, today four out of every five Bantu children are at school. New schools have been opened at the rate of about one per day. Already eighty per cent of all Bantu children between seven and twenty years of age, are literate. I am sure you will agree that this is a high rating indeed, in view of the fact that the estimated number of illiterate people in the world today are some 700 million and that the numbers of illiterates elsewhere are still growing by about 20 million a year.

In a highly developed, industrialized country such as South Africa the social progress we are making would, to some degree, have been inevitable, natural and spontaneous.

But only to some degree. Much of what we have achieved has been deliberate policy. Fot is is policy to house and educate South Africa's non-white peoples and to provide them with work. It is policy to train them as teachers, doctors, nurses, law enforcement officers, and for the other professions.

This policy has produced one significant fact that is conveniently killed with silence wherever South Africa is internationally arraigned. It is this: those who slip across our borders to escape from our policies are numbered in tens; those who slip across the border to come and enjoy our hospitality are numbered in tens of thousands. We have now no fewer than 600,000 foreign Africans within our borders. We gain about 25,000 every year.

Paradox?

Here, then, we have the perfect paradox of modern international relations. By any criterion South Africa is one of the most successful countries in the world. She is a magnet to tens of thousands of Africans from thousands of miles beyond her borders. She bears no one any malice. She has no hostile intent.

And yet she is subject to formidable pressure from many parts of the world.

Now why should this be?

It is history that provides the answer. For it is history that has afforded South Africa her unique place among the nations of the world. It is history that has carefully -- or casually -- prepared for her the extraordinary position that she occupies in the world today.

It all began some 300 years ago. At just about the same time as the State of Massachusetts was being established by English settlers, the Dutch established a victualling station at the Cape of Good Hope -- halfway between Europe and India and the spice islands.

In both places there were indigenous peoples -- in Massachusetts the Indians, in the Cape the Bushmen and Hottentots. The Bushmen still survive. They have taken refuge from civilization and moved to the north where they live their stone-age nomadic lives in peace. Over the years the Hottentots joined with other races and peoples to form the Cape Coloured people of today -- a thriving community of some 1,500,000 souls.

One thing above all the two settlements had in common. Both at Massachusetts and at the Cape the settlers introduced a type of social and economic organization that differed absolutely from that of the indigenous peoples. It was this organization -- developed in Europe -- that immediately transformed the very being of these territories and set them -- for the first time -- on a course of self-perpetuating progress. This was, of course, not exclusive to South Africa or Massachusetts. It is still one of the facts of history that throughout the "new world" progress has always been in direct proportion to the extent of the European presence: the larger the number of Europeans, the greater was the progress.

There is another, most remarkable phenomenon -- that the two settlements shared. In neither America nor in Africa did the indigenous people adopt the settlers' system, nor the settlers the indigenous system. Individuals did, but the societies remained distinct; the peoples retained their distinctive characteristics and systems.

And it is this phenomenon -- above all else -- that has been decisive in determining the course of events in South Africa throughout the three centuries that have elapsed since the first settlement at the Cape.

Sporadic Treks

Shortly after the establishment of the victualling station at the Cape, the settlers started moving further afield. They crossed one mountain range. And then another. They moved from one fertile valley to the next. In their wake they left several tiny settlements. With the years these grew into towns, into cities.

Thus the settlers brought life to the vast South African plains. During all this time they met with no other indigenous people. All was empty. All was no man's land.

It was nearly 150 years later and 600 miles from Cape Town that the white pioneers first came into contact with the vanguard of a black migration which was moving southwards. These people had set off from somewhere in Central Africa, had come south in wave upon wave of bloodshed, had crossed what are today the northern borders of the Republic and had occupied certain territories on the eastern seaboard of South Africa. They were the Bantu, the ancestors of the black population of South Africa.

When these two migrations met, there ensued a long series of wars, mostly in the form of border clashes between them. At the same time the internecine warfare among the various Bantu peoples continued. Such clashes are not peculiar to South African history. One point I might make, though. The wars between black and white were not wars of extermination or conquest. This is why the Xhosa nation of today, for instance, is largely resident in the same areas as it had occupied at the end of the 18th century when it first came into contact with European settlement. Similarly in the north of the country there was very little displacement of other Bantu nations. On the contrary, there has taken place in the 20th century what has always been accepted as a temporary "over-spill" of Bantu into areas which had already been settled by Europeans. There is therefore no foundation, whatsoever, for the allegation, so frequently made, that the white man deprived the Bantu in South Africa of land which was traditionally theirs. In fact, for many years the South African Government has augmented the traditional Bantu homelands, which have always been kept intact, by adding to it land which the Government had to purchase from whites.

A century ago there were no more than a million or two Bantu in South Africa. Today there are 11 million. And their numbers are increasing every year.

Of more significance than the wars themselves, however, is this: they were not fought between random collections of individuals, but between peoples -- peoples with established and vastly disparate systems and organizations; peoples who were all immigrants into what is today South Africa and who over the years had settled different parts of a vast subcontinent.

The hostilities eventually ceased. But there was no blurring of the sharp differences between these distinctive peoples. The people of European stock refused to compromise with the systems of the Bantu peoples. The Bantu peoples showed no desire to give up their own identity, culture, language and institutions for those of the whites.

Dr. Muller then described the post World War II surge for independence that swept through Africa. Bantu populations demanded self-determination. British and French colonies, Muller continued, received independence. South Africa, however, faced a unique situation. Muller proceeded: South Africa was therefore faced with this agonizing dilemma: how to provide for the inevitable progress to self-determination of the Bantu nations, without infringing the autonomy of the white nation. How indeed?

But was there any real choice at all? Indeed no. For to this problem, posed in this way, history and the realities of Africa dictated only one solution. And that solution was the separate, but full, development of South Africa's peoples. And that, briefly, is what we are attempting to do.

On the one hand the Republic is safeguarding the distinctive nationhood of her people of European stock as history enjoins her to do. At the same time she is helping the various Bantu nations within her borders to find themselves and to be themselves, as the lessons of Africa enjoin her to do.

Transkei

She is aiding these nations to become self-sufficient, ordering their own affairs at all levels of national activity. She sets no ceiling to this development. The aim is viable and autonomous Bantu nations alongside, and in co-operative association with, the white nation. And all these separate nations will have their own historical homelands which had always been exclusively theirs.

So far have we progressed in the implementation of this policy that one of South Africa's Bantu nations will this month vote for their own parliament. They are the 3,000,000 Xhosas, whose homeland is the Transkei, in the Eastern Cape, a territory as large as Vermont and New Jersey put together.

From the outset the Transkei government will be invested with substantial power to legislate for the territory and its people. And this power will grow, until, sooner or later, the Transkei will be an autonomous state. That is policy.

Meanwhile social and economic progress in the territory is keeping pace with political development. Already five of every six Transkei children are at school and a current five-year program calls for the expenditure by the South African Government of 160 million dollars in the Transkei and other Bantu homelands.

The Xhosas of the Transkei will therefore be the first to win their right to self-determination in their historical homeland. They will be followed by other Bantu nations. The die is cast and the political map is being irrevocably redrawn in South Africa.

And it is these developments, too, that the world condemns when it condemns separate development.

Some of the critics who condemn our policy maintain that what they want to see in South Africa is a non-racial democracy, which will be neither African nor European in character.

This sounds very admirable. But it is not feasible. For it flies directly in the face of all the facts of Africa. The reason is simple and obvious. For if Africa has done one thing, she has shown conclusively that her peoples have no desire to be recast in a foreign mold.

We must always remember that the way of Africa is not necessarily the way of Europe -- or of the West. That is another lesson of Africa. For almost nowhere on that continent have the inherited systems of Europe survived intact for long. Least of all the systems of government.

Far be it from me to say that this is a good thing or a bad thing; that it is right or that it is wrong. After all, no two countries in the world order their affairs in identically the same manner.

As far as the South African nation of European stock is concerned, we are determined to continue to practice the system which is our heritage and has its roots in Western traditions. To ensure this, South Africa must be given the opportunity to carry through her policy of separate development.

My plea, therefore, is that our friends should make a real endeavor to comprehend the true nature of our problem, the fundamental aims of our policy, i.e. the solution, and recognize the tremendous progress we have already achieved. They will then, we firmly believe, take no action which will impede the measures we are taking to bring our policies to fulfillment.

My plea is based on the merits of our policy. For our policy is directly in line with the African revolution, which has as its main objective self-determination for all. In fact, we as the first of the African nationalists anticipated that revolution long before it ever reached the proportions it has today.

At the same time our policy is in accordance with the fundamental philosophies of the West. We do not deny the individuality and dignity of man. What we do say -- what our unique situation has taught us to say -- is that each man has his dignity and his individuality within the society that he understands, which is his own.

This is our case, our challenge. Therein too, lies the key to South Africa's relationship with the West, with Africa, and with the world.

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Reading XV

THE CASE AGAINST APARTHEID

Reading XIV presented a case for apartheid written by a white South African, Dr. Hilgard Muller. Muller defended apartheid on a variety of grounds and justified his policy on the basis of separate and individual development of cultures. He cited growth rate, standard of living, and literacy statistics to prove that apartheid worked. He also discussed the prospects for Bantu self-rule in the Transkei. He did not suggest that white and non-white share public facilities or live under the jurisdiction of equal government institutions. Both the subjects he chose to discuss and those he omitted are useful to determine his frame of reference.

Reading XV presents an analysis and an indictment of apartheid. It was written by a native African Zulu Chief, Albert John Luthuli. Chief Luthuli grew up in a Christian home, attended schools and college in Natal, and taught in an African intermediate school for two years. He then went to Adams College in South Africa where he taught for fifteen years. He is best known for his leadership in the passive resistance movement against apartheid for which he was awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. Because of his anti-government activities, the police put Luthuli under "restrictive custody" in his home village in South Africa. These restrictions have effectively isolated Luthuli from any contact with his fellow Africans. Although his background is different from most Africans, he feels that he represents the interests of all Africans. Luthuli states, "I think as an African, I speak as an African, I act as an African, and as an African I worship the God whose children we all are."

Luthuli and Muller wrote from quite different frames of reference. What Muller praises as constructive, Luthuli condemns. Yet both men claim that their actions and beliefs are based upon the principles of Christianity. Both claim to desire the welfare of all the people of the

Republic of South Africa. That their professed goals are the same and their ways to reach these goals so different indicates the vast psychological and intellectual gulf which apartheid has created.

Are these men typical of their fellows? Did Muller speak for all of white South Africa and Luthuli for all the Bantu? The article which follows does not contain answers to these two questions, but the reader will find data which may help him to decide whether or not Luthuli represents typical native attitudes. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. On what grounds did Luthuli attack apartheid? Did he discuss the same topics as those which Muller took up?
2. How did Luthuli propose to change apartheid? Is his solution practical?
3. Do you think Luthuli represents the opinion of the majority of native South Africans? What evidence can you cite for your position?
4. Is there any way to reconcile the ideologies of Luthuli and Muller? What does your answer imply for the future of the Republic of South Africa?

"Africa and Freedom: The Recognition and Preservation of the Rights of Man"*

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* Albert John Luthuli, in VITAL SPEECHES OF THE DAY, Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, February 15, 1962, 269-271.

In his criticism of Apartheid, he notes that there is nothing new in this system, but rather that it is a carry-over from a by-gone age. He charges that even though the South African government tries to mask the system with such phrases as "separate development," "independence," the deception has failed. He summarizes that, "I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "Apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable. It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world. This terrible dream is not held onto by a crack-pot group on the fringe of society, or by Ku Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a sprinkling. It is the deliberate policy of the government, supported actively by a large part of the white population and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown their lot with non-whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development."

Reading XVI

WHERE IS SOUTH AFRICA GOING?

Year after year the streams of South Africa ran red with the blood of white and native killed in battle. Each side was merciless to the other. The accounts of battles and massacres contained in earlier readings all indicate how inhuman man can be to man. Are we now on the verge of another great bloodletting? Will the natives, assisted by their brothers to the north, drive the whites into the sea and seize control of the land where they form three-fourths of the population? Would western nations permit such a massacre? Can they prevent it?

Is there a way out? Reading XVI describes the four major political parties in South Africa and analyzes their proposed solutions to the problems of this benighted land. At the moment these four groups are still engaged in debate trying to convert others to their point of view. What will happen tomorrow no one knows.

Apartheid is the crux of the issue. In a world where men of different races are everywhere learning to live with each other, black and white in South Africa draw further apart. Apartheid is the end product of three centuries of conflict between men of radically different cultures whose ideologies set them at each others' throats. Fear and distrust have become a way of life. Unlike the United States, where the whites had power and outnumbered the Negroes by nine to one, the whites who control South Africa's government are only a fifth of the population. They believe that they will be overwhelmed by blacks if they grant equality and the franchise to their native fellow-countrymen. Hence apartheid.

Reading XVI was written by Gwendolen M. Carter, an American professor who has long been a student of African affairs. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is the problem in South Africa?
2. What are the objectives of each of the groups described in the article? How does each propose to reach its objective?
3. What would be the logical consequences of adopting the policy which each group suggests?
4. If you were a white South African, which policy would you recommend? A native? All things considered, what seems the best course to follow?

SOUTH AFRICA: SOME PROPOSED NEXT STEPS *

* Gwendolen Carter, THE POLITICS OF INEQUALITY: SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1948, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958, pp. 407-418.

Dr. Carter, one of the most prominent experts in African affairs in the United States today, suggests that there are four answers to the question, "Where should South Africa be heading?" The four positions are:

1. Ideal and Territorial Apartheid - the belief that every racial group should be able to fulfill its own potentiality and that each group should live in a separate area to develop in its own way, at its own pace, and for its own objectives.

2. The Nationalist Party - According to Carter, the Nationalists subscribe to the ultimate view of ideal Apartheid but claim that it will take two to three hundred years to achieve it. In the meantime, the Nationalists propose that African labor be used to develop the European economic system.

3. United Party - Supporters of this group suggest that eventually the African and Europeans will be able to live together in social, political and economic equality. In the meantime, however, it will be necessary for the whites to "guide" the African masses.

4. Liberal Party - Those who identify themselves as Liberals suggest that the African should be given the political, economic, and personal rights which are due to him as a citizen of South Africa.

TEACHER'S MANUAL

FOR

APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

A UNIT FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

prepared at the

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTER

sponsored by

PROJECT SOCIAL STUDIES

at

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 1 Lesson Plan

INTRODUCTION: APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Subject Objectives: to know:
that apartheid differs from caste, segregation and slavery.
that apartheid is the official policy of racial separation supported by the present government of the Republic of South Africa.
that laws establishing apartheid have been passed predominately since 1949.
that one's view of the justice of apartheid depends primarily upon one's value system.

Cognitive Objectives:
4.00 Analysis of the material in the list of names in the article in terms of areas of a culture.
4.10 Analysis of elements to recognize the frame of reference of white and native.
5.00 Synthesis of generalizations from the list of laws.

Materials: Reading I, "Some Laws Establishing Apartheid" and "Africa: Ordeal of Color."
Chart: Characteristics of apartheid, caste, slavery, segregation.

GROUP WORK: Allow about ten minutes for students to fill in chart. Assign one group to apartheid, one to caste, one to slavery, one to segregation. Inform class that the chart will serve as the basis for discussion.	After ten minutes, ask group chairmen to report on the findings of the chart. This reporting may take the rest of the period and would certainly be a worthwhile class activity. However, some may wish to cut short the chart-work and move into the questions below. NOTE - for a further variation some may assign the chart as homework which the student will bring completed to class.
Let's focus our attention on apartheid. When did it become established by law in South Africa?	Refer to the dates of the acts on page 3.
What does the legislation reveal about the dimensions of apartheid?	Encourage discussion of the different types of regulations contained in the list: about housing, social intercourse, government, education, labor, public facilities and the courts. Students should see that apartheid extends to every area of life.
According to Miss Gordimer, how do Bantu regard apartheid?	Get at details about daily life from the article in order to foster an understanding in human terms.
And how do the whites look upon this institution?	Encourage a similar discussion.
Why do the two groups regard the institution so differently?	Get at different value systems and the contrast between the positive advantages to whites and the handicaps to natives.
What sort of compromise can you suggest acceptable to both groups?	Encourage discussion. If time remains, divide the class into two groups to present arguments about possible compromises from both points of view.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading I (supplement)

Use this chart to distinguish between the characteristics of apartheid, caste, slavery, and segregation. In class, you will be asked to compare similarities and differences of the systems. You might write "yes" or "no" in the appropriate boxes, or rate them by degree of difference.

CHARACTERISTICS	APARTHEID	CASTE	SLAVERY	SEGREGATION
1. Ownership of individual by another person.				
2. Geographic separation of residence.				
3. Distinctions based on occupation.				
4. Availability of public facilities.				
5. Distinctions based on race.				
6. Status based on birth.				
7. Degree of social mobility.				
8. Ideal of human equality.				
9. Practice of endogamous marriage.*				

*Endogamous marriage is marriage within one's social, racial, or caste group.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 2 Lesson Plan

THE HOTTENTOTS

Subject Objectives: to know:
- that the Hottentots were a simple pastoral people living in a traditional society organized around small bands.
- that this society could not exist in its traditional form if whites settled in the area in great numbers.
- the methodology of the anthropologist.

Cognitive Objectives:
- 2.30 Extrapolation of the possible effects of the culture of the Hottentots when a more advanced culture impinges upon it.
- 4.00 Analysis of the parts of Hottentot culture from the descriptive passages in the reading.

Materials: Reading 2, "The Society of the Hottentots"

How would you describe the way in which this reading was put together?	This article is primarily a description of Hottentot society with material organized around various parts of the culture.
Why do you suppose the author wrote in this way?	Get students to speculate about his frame of reference and his training as an anthropologist. Point to the relative absence of cause-and-effect statements and the importance of description of daily activities, emphases which anthropologists would naturally make.
Let's see if we can work up a one-sentence description of Hottentot society as a first approximation. Everyone write down such a simple description.	Require each student to write a one-sentence description of the society in his notebook. Then have several students read their descriptions. Tell the class that everyone will be asked to write an amended version of their description at the end of the hour.
What are the major elements in Dr. Schapera's description? (Set up a chart with one column for categories, one for Hottentot society, and one for the Dutch which will be filled in the following day.)	Students should bring out the economic organization of the society, the level of technology, the political structure, the social structure, and the value system.
Discuss each category on the chart.	
Now write an amended one-sentence description of Hottentot society.	Go back to the earlier exercise. Ask several students to read their definitions and others to criticize.
What do you think would happen to the Hottentots if whites occupied the water holes?	Discuss the effect on the economy and the social system. Ask if the political system would encourage mass resistance. Use the remainder of the class time on this matter.

THE COMING OF THE DUTCH

Subject Objectives: to know:

- that the Boers came to South Africa to establish a supply post and provisioning center for trading ships.
- that the Boers looked on the Hottentots as potential suppliers of cattle and sheep.
- that the Boers encouraged settlement, farming and herding by freemen to establish a steady source of supply for trading vessels.
- the methodology of the anthropologist.

Cognitive Objectives:

2.20 Interpretation of ideas from a journal into analytical constructs.

2.30 Extrapolation of the possible effects of culture contact between Boer and Hottentot.

Materials: Reading 3, "The Coming of the Dutch"

Why did the Dutch come to South Africa?	Remember, their primary purpose was to establish a half-way house for ships traveling between Europe and the East Indies. The granting of free tracts of land to individual citizens came only after five years of settlement and because production at the Cape was low.
How did Boer and Hottentot first come in contact?	Discuss the trading relationship. Why did Dutch want native cattle? Get at the details of the trade, especially the unreliability of the Hottentots as suppliers of cattle.
Examine the Boer and Hottentot cultures as started in class the previous day.	Fill in the chart under the column set aside for the Dutch. Use the same categories as those used for the Hottentots. Ask if any student wishes to add a category. The chart might look something like the following.

	Hottentot	Boer
Economics	Based on herding and gathering. Trade tangential. Barter. Little division of labor.	Based on agriculture, manufacturing and trade. Money economy. Division of labor.
Technology	Primitive. Hand tools and weapons only. No metals.	Relatively more advanced. Guns. Metal. Tools unknown to the Hottentots.
Political structure	Small bands. Traditional. No written laws. Primitive conception of property.	Large-scale political system extending across the ocean. Written legal code. Well developed conception of private property rights.
Social structure	Small scale around family and band.	European. Family and ethnic group. More sophisticated than Hottentot.
Values	No information	Emphasize honesty by their own frame of reference, living by rules, etc. Have students search for examples.

Which of these cultures is likely to survive in a contest with the other?	Encourage discussion. Go through each area on the charts which students have made.
Are they likely to come in conflict?	Again go through the charts to see possible sources of friction.

BOER AND HOTTENTOT

Subject Objectives: to know:
- that information contained in accounts by untrained observers must be examined in the light of the frame of reference of the writer.
- that the Boers and the Hottentots came into conflict for a number of reasons.
- that the Boers could exterminate the Hottentots because of superior technology, a larger political organization and a more cohesive social system.

Cognitive Objectives:
- 2.30 Extrapolation about future of two societies based on projections developed from readings.
- 4.10 Analysis of elements, particularly the ability to induce the frame of reference of a writer by the use of internal evidence.
- 4.30 Analysis of organizational principles by examining the words which disclose the purpose of the writer.
- 6.10 Judgment in terms of internal evidence of the relative accuracy of an account.

Materials: Reading 4, "Sparrman Tries to Hire a Hottentot," "A Hottentot's Lament," "Boer Justice," and "Boer Encroachments."

Today we will divide into four groups each of which will work on one of the four documents in the reading. You are to: 1) Read the article through again. 2) Describe the attitude of the author toward his subject. 3) Isolate evidence to prove that this was his attitude. 4) Assess the reliability of the account.	Divide the class into four groups. Require each student to work individually at his desk for fifteen minutes. Then let the groups meet to compare notes and choose a reporter. Let each reporter describe the conclusions which his group drew. Have the class check the references which have been isolated. Write the directions on the board for students to examine.
What does this exercise reveal about the reliability of source material? (Note: The Hottentots left no written records. Therefore, Burchell and Philip are used to suggest Hottentot position. Use this information to get at validity of historical sources.)	Discuss this question. Get to the necessity to examine the frame of reference. Discuss ways to spot bias in language, willingness to generalize from one instance or inability to see events except from a perspective of one's own culture.
Why did the two groups come into conflict?	Discuss the reasons given in the four accounts.
Who will win -- and did win -- when conflict erupted?	The Boers. Check the hypotheses developed for Reading 3. The Boers overwhelmed the primitive Hottentot society. By the middle of the 18th century, the Hottentots were reduced to servants or had retreated to the barren wastes along the fringes of the colony.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 5 Lesson Plan

THE BANTU

Subject Objectives: to know:

that the most important character trait of a Zulu was courage in battle.
that the Zulu political system permitted them to organize a large army.
that the Zulu were more sophisticated and posed a greater threat to the Boers than did the Hottentots.
the methodology of anthropology.

Cognitive Objectives:

5.00 Synthesis of detailed information to reveal values.

Materials: Reading 5, "The Military Organization of the Zulu"

Why were the Boers able to exterminate the Hottentots?	Review previous readings. Point to superior technology and a more advanced political order.
Wouldn't these same factors operate for the Boers against the Zulu?	Encourage discussion. The technological factor is the same. The Zulu, however, had a more widespread and cohesive political system. They had two additional factors in their favor: superior numbers and an ethic based on bravery.
What was the most important character trait of a Zulu? Let's begin by asking how to answer this question systematically.	Get students to look for characteristics in various areas of culture, political, economic, status system, values of the women, ceremonies, etc. Discuss each in turn asking after the facts are in the personal characteristic which is most important. Courage, or some other word meaning about the same thing, should turn up in each case. Then ask a student to make explicit the procedure by which this conclusion has been reached. This entire procedure will probably consume about half the class period.
Will the Boers be able to exterminate the Zulu easily?	No, because of the reasons given above.
How would a typical European probably respond to Zulu customs?	Read one of the juicier passages aloud. Get students to realize how difficult it would be for a European to live intimately with the Zulu. Then ask for ways in which the two groups might be assimilated. Ask if Apartheid is not an easier policy to explain to white South Africans than assimilation would be.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 6 Lesson Plan

BOER AND BRITON

Subject Objectives: to know:

that the Boers and the Britons were divided over policies toward the natives.

that the Boers fled from British rule to preserve their way of life which included: economic independence, white supremacy, Dutch language and institutions.

Cognitive Objectives:

2.10 Translation of information found in sources to analytical uses.

2.20 Interpretation or discovering the implications contained in the passages read.

5.00 Synthesis of a general conclusion from three documents.

Materials: Reading 6, "Manifesto of the Emigrant Farmers," and "Letter of A. W. J. Pretorius."

As background, can someone tell me why the British became interested in South Africa?	During the French revolution the government of the Netherlands collapsed. The English, fearing French intervention, set up naval bases, and later annexed Cape Town. The Netherlands' government remained plagued by problems so the British set up a permanent settlement.
Let's compare the Boer and English reasons for settling in the area.	Through the discussion bring out the idea that the main reason for Boer settlement seemed to be to find a life free from external restraints, especially from the English. English settlement was different. They did not move into areas inhabited by the Bantu nor did they come into economic competition with them. Therefore the English did not need to exploit the native - which seemed to be a result of pursuing economic gain.
Keeping in mind what we have read and just stated, can we also make a comparison between English and Boer attitudes toward the natives?	Let students discover the fact that the different reasons for settlement and the Boer experience with the Hottentot helped bring about different attitudes toward the natives. The Boers berated the English for not continuing the master-slave treatment of the native.
Did these differences in attitude affect Boer-English relationships?	Yes. They emphasized the differences between the two societies even though both were white. A major reason that the Boers moved to Natal and later to the Orange Free State was to escape from English policy to the natives
Let us summarize what we have said so far about Boer-British relations.	Get a student to summarize. A major reason for the movement of the Boers out of Cape Colony was that they could not accept British policies including treatment of the native population. Boers, reinforced by their domination of the Hottentot, had the master-slave idea firmly imbedded in their minds.

We have been discussing the differences in English and Boer attitudes toward the natives as a possible reason for the Boers moving. Do you think that just being a Boer bred a desire not to be under English rule, and that this resulted in the Boer exodus?

Encourage discussion. Boer nationalism was probably the second major reason for the Boer movement away from English governed areas.

BOER AND BANTU

Subject Objectives: to know:

- that the Boer defeated the Bantu because of technological superiority.
- that the Bantu feared and haged the Boers more than the Britons.
- that some Boer leaders thought the British aided the Bantu rather than the Boers.

Cognitive Objectives:

- 2.20 Interpretation of ideas from a journal into analytical constructs.
- 4.10 Analysis of elements, particularly the ability to induce the frame of reference of a writer by the use of internal evidence.
- 6.10 Judgment in terms of internal evidence of the relative accuracy of an account.

Materials: Reading 7, "An American Missionary Describes a Massacre by the Zulus," and "A Boer Leader Describes Events in the Wars Against the Zulu."

Let's begin by having someone describe the readings.	The student should see that the readings are in the form of a diary describing views of Boer-Bantu hostilities.
Can you believe what you read here?	Encourage general discussion. Then get to specific matters: Were authors eyewitnesses to the events they described? Does the language reveal a bias which might prevent them from telling the truth? Did they accept hearsay evidence about the activities of missionaries? Were they defending actions which might be open to censure?
What, then, is the major value of the documents?	Encourage a number of replies. This account gives first-hand information about the way in which Boer leaders viewed their relationships to the Bantu and the British. For Owen, get at his humanitarian attitude. For Celliers, get at his religion, his attitude to vengeance, his scorn of Bantu values, his desire for land, his distrust of the British, etc. Then tie up the discussion of reliability.
Why could the Boers defeat the Bantu?	Here the major variables seem to be technological superiority and great personal courage partly deriving from a sense of divine mission. Compare this analysis with the major reasons that American settlers were able to defeat the Indians.

BOER AND BRITON: THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

Subject Objectives: to know:
 the major stages of the history of the government of South Africa, particularly of its relationship to Britain.
 the characteristics of Afrikaner nationalism.

Cognitive Objectives:
 2.00 Comprehension of the stages in the development of government and of the characteristics of nationalism in South Africa.
 3.00 Application in order to compare nationalism in Europe and South Africa.

Materials: Reading 8, "Characteristics of Afrikaner Nationalism"
 Slide Tape, "Afrikaner Nationalism"

Show the slide-tape at the beginning of class.	
The reading on nationalism and the slide-tape can be used effectively to help students compare nationalism in South Africa with the movements in other parts of the world.	
According to the reading, what are the characteristics of Afrikaner nationalism?	Ask a student to read his list from his reading notes. As he reads his list, ask other students to explain each point in detail. You might ask still other students to relate these developments with the history of South Africa as described in the introduction.
What are some of the characteristics of South African nationalism that resemble qualities in other lands? What are some of the differences?	Recall the slide-tape, "Nationalism as Religion" used during the first semester. Discuss religious qualities. Consider the elements of nationalism such as language, geography, ethnic identification, common past, etc. Also evaluate some of the differences in South Africa with European nationalism such as presence of large numbers of non-Europeans, the role of the British, and perhaps the sense of "chosenness." The possibilities here are infinite. Some may wish to stay with a comparison of European countries. If India has already been considered, some may wish to compare Indian and South African nationalism. Others may look to China. Still others may wish to compare the experience of South Africa with that of the United States although this comparison should be limited because the class has had no recent study of American history.

This slide tape is an original script and is accompanied by slides showing scenes from the wall frieze of the Voortrekker monument, contemporary paintings of early settlers.

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

① Every nation holds certain symbols and traditions sacred. For the Afrikaner in South Africa, the descendant of the early Boer pioneer, there are many such hallowed memories. Each symbol, each tradition recalls a significant experience in the Afrikaner's struggle to win the subcontinent of Africa.

② The Afrikaner cherishes the memory of his forefather's frontier life. For generations the frontier Boer ③ lived in wagons such as these and trekked with his flocks and herds. ④ The wandering Boer did not build permanent homes because he ⑤ desired mobility. His wagon became literally a "house on wheels." A trekker ⑥ family limited its possessions to items of absolute necessity: a gun, lead, powder, a few clothes, a Bible--with these simple belongings a Boer could survive. Living close to nature, a frontier trekker learned to fend for himself, dependent only on his wagon, his flocks, his gun, and his God. During his frontier experience, the Boer battled incessantly with the native population. ⑦ After more than two centuries of fighting, Boer settlers destroyed the military power of the Africans. The Afrikaner has not forgotten this struggle: ⑧

> "Our Afrikaner Boers," nationalistic leaders proclaimed, "are summoned to be the pioneers of Christianity and Civilization."

⑨ The Afrikaner treasures his experience with his God. From the earliest days of the settlement he built churches to honor the Lord. The trekking Boer of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries looked upon the Old Testament as a mirror of his life. ⑩ Had not the Israelites of old followed their flocks and herds for generations? Had not the ancient Hebrews wandered in the wilderness for forty years in search of the Promised Land? Had not Moses and Aaron led the people out of Egypt? ⑪ Had not Joshua fought against the Canaanites to win the Promised Land? The Boer saw an identical pattern in his own experience. The rugged patriarchs ⑫ of South Africa had led the fight. ⑬ Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal were the Promised Land--the Voortrekkers, the Boers, the pioneers, the Afrikaners were the Chosen people. The Africans, the Hottentots ⑭, the Zulu ⑮, the Matabele ⑯, the Bechuana ⑰ were the Canaanites.

Finally, the Afrikaner remembers the English. ⑱ In the early nineteenth century the British occupied Capetown for defensive purposes -- they stayed for more than one hundred years. Boers of Dutch descent feared that the British would destery their customs and traditions. In the 1830's these Boers trekked out of reach of the British -- they undertook the Great Trek -- at first into Natal and later into the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. These trekkers or Voortrekkers as they were called, ⑲ suffered grievously at the hands of the Zulu, the Matabele, and later, the English. Yet the Voortrekkers persevered and won their Promised Land. These Voortrekkers who combined the virtues of God and the frontier became the heroes of nationalistic Afrikanerdom. ⑳ Later generations were to say,

> The Afrikaners have received a Providential summons to trek through South Africa as the pioneers of civilization so that Africa may be civilized and the heathen natives won over to Christianity.

For these Afrikaners, the Old Testament analogy was complete -- the English assumed the role of Egyptians pursuing the Chosen People in their chariots of iron.

㉑ The pursuit lasted many years. In the 1870's, after the British had annexed the Transvaal, an Afrikaner clergyman called upon his congregation to resist the British, the forces of the Pharaoh,

> "Behold the armies of salvation of the Lord; we were as Israel of old - before us lay the Red Sea, behind us was the Egyptian host and on either side of us were lofty mountains. We could but look up and cry to God and He heard our voice."

㉒ As the Boer War loomed near at the end of the century, another Afrikaner predikant proclaimed,

> "When we think of the former emigrants, the Voortrekkers of yore it is then revealed unto us how God, in His divine providence, dealt with them, even as he dealt with the Israelite nation of old."

During the war an Afrikaner exclaimed, ㉓

> "I consider and believe that this land is the land ordained by God since time began in which we should wage our final fight for freedom."

㉔ In spite of the moving oratory, the Boers and their nationalistic God did not win the War. Yet the British victory did not destroy the Afrikaner spirit. Paul Kruger, heroic leader of the Boer nation, ㉕ wrote after the fighting had stopped,

> "I am convinced that God does not forsake His people, even though it may often appear so. Therefore I resign myself to the will of the Lord. I know that he will not allow his afflicted people to perish.

Building a new nation ㉖ out of the ruins of the old, South Africans have created a new nationalism, a new patriotism for their now independent state.

Over the past century five general characteristics have emerged in Afrikaner nationalism:

Afrikaners have ㉗ emphasized the theme of British injustice.

Afrikaners ㉘ have developed a love for their fatherland. They think of themselves as a national unit because of their bonds of blood, race, and ancestry.

Afrikaners ㉙ consciously preserve this national identity. They have introduced a new language, Afrikaans, and built a folklore about the heroic deeds of national heroes.

Afrikaners ㉚ think of themselves as a chosen people, ordained by God to live in their Promised Land.

Finally, ㉛ the history of the Voortrekker has become a sacred topic, considered in terms of reverence and thanksgiving.

These five characteristics ㉜ have been rendered permanent by the construction in Pretoria of a political- national- religious monument dedicated to the memory of the Voortrekkers. Surrounded ㉝ by a protective wall of trek wagons, the monument seeks to preserve the essence of Afrikaner nationalism. At the heart of the structure is a ㉞ sacred cenotaph, a symbolic gravestone for the Voortrekkers, ㉟ inscribed with the words, "We for Thee, South Africa." Around the interior wall, the largest historical frieze ㊱ in the world commemorates the glorious deeds of the Voortrekkers as they conquered the land from the African population. Outside, gigantic statues of the Voortrekker leaders ㊲ symbolise the devotion of the people to the ideals of these frontier heroes. At the dedication ㊳ of this monument in December, 1949, Prime Minister Dr. D. F. Malan summed up the essence of the nationalist movement:

> Back to your people; back to the highest ideals of your people; back to the pledge which has been entrusted to you for safe-keeping; back to the altar of the people on which you must lay your sacrifice and, if it is demanded of you, also yourself as a sacrifice; back to the sanctity and inviolability of family life; back to the Christian way of life; back to the Christian faith; back to your Church; back to your God.

Here in the words ㊴ of Malan and in the stone and mortar of the Voortrekker monument is written the history of Afrikaner nationalism. Here is reverence for the frontier; devotion to the fatherland; dedication to an all-powerful God; defiance of the English; and perhaps most important, a wall of wagons which separated Afrikaners from Africans in the nineteenth century and which in the twentieth century has become a symbolic representation of a policy of racial separation.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 9 Lesson Plan

THE CULTURE OF BANTU TRIBESMEN

Subject Objectives: to know:
- that traditions governed the major aspects of the lives of the Bantu.
- the major aspects of Bantu culture: small villages, largely pastoral economy, traditional government, status dependent upon ownership of cattle, relative inflexibility of the society.
- that Bantu could adjust to a modern society only with great difficulty and would probably require compensatory education.
- the methodology of anthropology.

Cognitive Objectives:
- 2.20 Interpretation from descriptive to analytical terms.
- 5.00 Synthesis of the nature of the entire culture from its constituent elements.

Materials: Reading 9, "Life in a Bantu Village"

How would you describe the way in which the article was written?	It is a description of a typical day containing a chronological account of the daily round of activity with little analysis.
Why write like this?	Encourage students to discuss the possibility of obtaining a more accurate account from a narrative than from analysis which might be more specifically dependent upon the writer's frame of reference.
What was the village like physically?	Get at specifics: size, buildings, surrounding lands, closeness to other villages, etc.
How was the physical setting of the village related to the activities within it?	Encourage students to discuss points which strike them. Be sure they discuss economic activities, political life, entertainment and other social functions.
What seems to govern life in the village? How, for example, are jobs assigned?	Get to the role of tradition. Almost everything is governed by folkways and mores.
Are there many demands for discussion of issues which have never come up before?	No. Stimulate discussion about the fact that little need for a rational decision-making process exists.
Let us switch to a discussion of the roles played by people in the society. What did the men do? Women? Boys? Girls?	Get students to make specific statements about the role which each group played in the society. Include economic, political and social roles. What roles gave prestige? Open the issue of whether roles like these would be possible in a modern economy. Then go to the specific questions.
Did the Bantu value accumulating wealth?	Only in the form of cattle and then partly to be able to give it away.
Did they value a rational decision-making process?	No. Point to the role of tradition and of magic in the decision-making process.

Did they value adaptability to new situations?	Again no. They educated for the demands of a traditional world.
Then how easily could the Bantu adjust to an urban technologically developed society?	Encourage discussion of the problems of adjustment which stem from cultural differences. Bring up the idea of compensatory education - spending more funds and resources per student to prepare them to live in a culture different from the one in which they were reared. Ask one student to prepare a report on compensatory education in Pittsburgh, getting information from the library and the school principal.
How is the Boer likely to look upon the prospect of living near Bantu recently come from the villages?	Again encourage discussion of the wide divergence of culture and of the difficulties inherent in the situation.

BANTU SOCIETY: CHILDHOOD, EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE

Subject Objectives: to know:

that most Bantu education was informal and designed to prepare youth to live in a traditional society.

that Bantu marriage practices and family patterns could not persist in an urban industrial society.

that compensatory education is a necessary ingredient for a smooth transition to urban, industrial society.

the methodology of anthropology.

Cognitive Objectives:

2.20 Interpretation from descriptive to analytical terms.

5.00 Synthesis of the nature of the entire culture from its constituent elements.

Materials: Reading 10, "Learning to be a Bantu"

What is the difference between formal and informal education?	Get students to contrast education at home, at play and on the job with the more formal education of the school.
Which plays the more fundamental role in a modern society?	This question is debatable. Society could not exist without informal education which gives each child a place. Nor could it get along without formal education which prepares people for employment in a society with a highly developed technology. Encourage discussion.
Which plays a more important role in a primitive society?	Clearly the informal. Discuss
What was the focus of education among the Bantu?	Children learned by doing the jobs their parents did. See 55 and 56. They also attended schools mainly to learn values and correct behavior.
How did Bantu education differ from European education?	See generalizations on pages 56 and 57.
Would Bantu education prepare a person for life in a modern society?	Not for a role in the economy which requires reading, writing and technical skills. Not for a changing world and a changing social system because children are not taught ways to cope with new situations. Discuss these two points.
Let us switch our discussion to marriage and the family. Who makes a good marriage partner?	Discuss marriage partners with material on pages 57 and 58.
What is lobola? What role does it play in marriage?	See definition on page 58. Point to the relationship of a man and his in-laws. Also call attention to the role of mutual gift giving.
What would happen to these institutions in a modern society?	These institutions can hardly be perpetuated in an industrialized city. Discuss. Help students to see the way in which westernization will disrupt these culture patterns.
If you wished to help the Bantu adjust to a modern world, how would you change the educational and marriage systems?	Encourage discussion. Ask if apartheid is a sensible solution. Bring up compensatory education.

THE IMPACT OF MINING AND MANUFACTURING

Subject Objectives: to know:
- that moving to the mines disrupts traditional Bantu society.
- that mine owners make few attempts to make the transition easier.
- that an ideology like ideal apartheid seems to offer no viable solution to the problem of educating Bantu for the modern world.

Cognitive Objectives:
- 2.20 Interpretation of the meaning of the narrative account in analytical terms.
- 5.00 Synthesis of facts to see the cultural implications.

Materials: Reading 11, "Bantu in Mine and Factory"
Assorted slides of industrialization in South Africa

Show the pictures of industrialization in South Africa.	
Ask students to generalize on the nature of the economy in South	Obviously, it is a specialized economy which engages in extensive division of labor. Industrial, technical, and semi-skilled workers are required to build factories and produce goods such as those produced in South Africa.
Ask students to comment on which racial groups in South Africa perform which jobs. Get at the idea of job and wage discrimination practiced in South Africa. Also, ask if there might be two sides to this question.	In general, Africans are not permitted to engage in any jobs above a semi-skilled level. The change from a mining economy to a manufacturing economy threatens to undercut this system.
How well does Bantu education prepare men to work in the mines?	Ask a student to review quickly the major conclusions from the previous reading. The major point is that traditional Bantu education is a very poor preparation both for essential technical skills and for the ability to move from one cultural context to another.
What happens to Bantu society when men move to the mines?	Focus attention on the disruption of the family, the new economic role of men, the change in what activities and characteristics bring status, and the change in physical environment. It may be necessary to get at these four major changes through subsidiary questions. Get students to make out a chart at their desks with family, economy, status and environment down the left hand side and "village" and "mine" as headings under which to take notes about these four variables.
What could be done to make the transition to a new life less traumatic?	Explore compensatory education as one alternative. Ask whether establishing physical conditions similar to those in the village would help. Explore the advisability of keeping families intact. Ask for the report on compensatory education if it was assigned on day 9.

Why do whites fail to use these devices?	All of these schemes would tend to break down the system of apartheid. In addition, white ideology proclaims that the African cannot learn as well as whites. Encourage students to discuss these issues.
If mining and manufacturing expand, will additional natives face experiences similar to the ones described?	Yes, unless some other way is found to expand the white labor force. Open the question of the possibility of establishing apartheid and at the same time manning a modern industry. See the last paragraph on page 68.
Suppose you believed in ideal apartheid and still wanted to use native labor in mines, manufacturing and services. What would you do in the immediate future?	This is the real political problem in South Africa. Let students present proposals and follow each one to its logical conclusion.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 11

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ASSORTED SLIDES ON THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The pictures which accompany Reading 11, "Bantu in Mine and Factory," provide a visual image of industrialization in South Africa. The first six pictures show the natural terrain of South Africa. This is the way the country looked to the Dutch when they arrived in the seventeenth century. The original Dutch settlers chose agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Pictures 8 through 11 illustrate this phase. Eight through 10 are taken near Capetown and show the wine country. The structures in these pictures, incidentally, were built in the eighteenth century. Picture 11 provides evidence of pastoral endeavors. Pictures 12 through 23 offer evidence of the industrialization of South Africa. Diamonds in the 1870's and gold in the 1880's introduced industrialization. Other related industries pictured in numbers 19 through 23 followed. The remainder of the slides show cities and other western institutions which have come to South Africa as a result of industrialization.

In teaching Lesson 11, discuss the role of the African in this industrialization process.

1. A landscape in the Transkei.
2. The Tsitsa falls in the Transkei.
3. The Drakensberg range in Natal.
4. A scene in the Western Province.
5. Cape Point, one of the southernmost tips of the African continent.
6. Wild flowers in Namaqualand.
7. Describes the landing of Jan van Riebeeck at Capetown in 1652.
8. Eighteenth century windmill.
9. Eighteenth century wine farm near Capetown.
10. Eighteenth century wine farm near Capetown.
11. Sheep.
12. The Kimberley Hole. 25,000,000 tons of earth and rock were extracted from this hole during the diamond rush of the 1870's and 1880's. The perimeter of the hole is one mile. The depth is 3,600 feet.
13. Examples of diamonds today. South Africa leads the world in diamond production.
14. View of the Witwatersrand gold reef in Johannesburg. The city is in the background, the mine tailings are in the middle and the mine structures in the foreground.
15. Typical gold mining scene.
16. Miners tunneling along the gold reef.
17. Molten gold is formed into ingots. The total yearly gold production is worth 1 billion - 70% of the free world's gold production.
18. In steelmaking, the very latest equipment and techniques are employed. The developing steel plants already produce 90% of the country's steel requirements and exports of the metal are increasing steadily.

19. South Africa is the most industrialized country in Africa. Symbolic of recent efforts made to utilize its vast wealth stands SASOL, an intricate complex of pipes and retorts, rising out of the Free State soil to extract oil from coal.

20. Through scientific farming methods and liberal use of fertilizer, the country is self-sufficient in agriculture and has large farm surpluses for export. Fertilizer storage plant.

21. South African wines and brandies rank among the best in the world and are very popular in Britain and on the Continent.

22. A view of Durban harbor in Natal.

23. Highways.
The country's extensive highway system includes 95,000 miles of national and provincial roads, of which about 8,800 miles are hard-surfaced.
Cloverleaf crossing near Cape Town.

24. A view of Cape Town with Table Mountain in the background.

25. Another view of Cape Town.

26. Johannesburg - the "Gold Reef" where the world's richest and deepest gold mines are to be found. With a population of approximately 1,110,905 (1960) Johannesburg is one of the largest cities on the African continent.

27. Resort area on southern coast of South Africa.

28. A white school in South Africa.

29. A view of Praetoria, the administrative capital of the Republic of South Africa.

30. A view of the Union buildings in Praetoria.

31. A view of the legislative buildings in Cape Town.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 12 Lesson Plan

FINDING OUT ABOUT BANTU LIFE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

Subject Objectives: to know:

- that a case study requires careful observation, accurate note taking, full reporting of data and frame of reference and carefully written conclusions
- that a case study can reveal major aspects of a particular society and be a source of analytical questions for further study.
- that a case study can be misleading when it is atypical or poorly done.
- the methodology of anthropologists.

Cognitive Objectives:

- 3.00 Application of methodology to new data.
- 4.10 Analysis of the elements of anthropological method.

Materials: Reading 12, "Investigating Conditions Among the Bantu in Johannesburg"

Behavioral scientists use three major research techniques: the case study, the survey and the experiment. Which is this?	A case study. Have students give examples of the other two (polling, running rats through a maze) to check understanding. You may wish to break the class into four groups and have reporters from each give examples after discussion.
What was the question which Miss Hellman was investigating?	Encourage discussion. She was trying to determine the effects of slum life on the traditional culture of the Bantu. This case reveals what happened to one group of people from a traditional culture when they came in contact with an advanced culture diffused from the West.
How can her conclusions be used in other similar case studies?	As a source for analytical questions to be put to the evidence. See Shaping of W. Soc., Rdg. 4.
Why did the author describe her research technique?	Only by describing her procedure can she make her frame of reference and the quality of her research clear to her readers.
How did Miss Hellman gather data from informants?	Interviews; she asked them to keep budgets (middle of last paragraph on p. 71)
Do you think they would answer her questions honestly?	Encourage discussion. Note the precautions she took to assure them of her impartiality Were her reassurances enough?
How did she report this information?	In the form of raw data first. See the details in paragraphs 7-10 on pages 71-73. These records indicate the precise evidence for her conclusions.
Now look at the last paragraph in Reading 13. How does it differ from the material on pages 71-73?	This paragraph contains the conclusions drawn from the evidence previously cited. The sharp contrast in styles helps to indicate how self-conscious the writer was to separate evidence from inference.
When can a case study be misleading?	When it is atypical or poorly done. Discuss advantages and disadvantages of this technique if time remains.
Should an anthropologist try to change practices of a society of which he disapproves or let them continue? (Give an example, if necessary.)	Permit discussion of this ethical question if time remains.

LIFE IN A JOHANNESBURG SLUM YARD

Subject Objectives: to know:

that moving to a city disrupts the entire culture of the Bantu including family, economic life, value systems, systems of sanctions and the material culture.

that no non-integrated culture has taken the place of the old.

that no systematic attempt has been made to ease the transition from one culture to another.

Cognitive Objectives:

3.00 Application of anthropologists' methods to a case study.
4.00 Analysis of documents to arrive at analytical constructs.
5.00 Synthesis of material into a coherent account.

Materials: Reading 13, "The Bantu and the City Slum"

Today we are going to examine the effects of life in the Rooiyard on traditional Bantu culture. Which parts of the traditional culture disappear the fastest?	The material culture. See the last paragraph in Reading 12. Get at the details.
Why do you think western material culture is adopted more quickly than non-material culture?	Encourage discussion. Get at the conveniences coming with western material culture in a city and the fact that using it does not challenge mores or folkways in many cases.
What happened to tribal loyalties?	They tend to disappear as tribes are amalgamated. With them may go emotional security.
Are the new occupations similar to tribal ones?	No. Men don't herd. Women work for pay. They sell beer, a holdover from the traditional society (see pages 56 and 57).
What would happen to the prestige of a man who had owned many cattle and moved to the slum yard?	It would fall. Here prestige is not based on ownership of cattle but on ability to cope with the new environment.
What happens to family solidarity in the slum yard?	Families were ruptured. Discuss reasons given on pages 77-79.
What happens to customary sanctions and to tribal customs which formerly controlled men's actions?	They disappear. See bottom of 79 and 80.
How have the Bantu tried to adapt some of the traditional culture to their new life?	See bottom of 81 and 82.
Why is the belief in magic so resistant to change?	Encourage discussion. Point to its firm grip on the mind, a grip which the material culture does not have.

Why not adopt Christianity? This would give meaning to life.	See middle of page 81. Christians have not acted according to their beliefs. This development leaves the Bantu with no faith at all.
What has been the total effect on the Bantu of the transition from tribal society to the urban slum?	Ask each student to write a short answer to to this question in his notebook. Then see the summary on page 82. Bantu culture has been shattered but no meaningful and integrated culture has taken its place. The Bantu are rootless and have no direction or security.
How could a white use this conclusion to argue for apartheid?	He could ask another white if he wanted to live amid rootless people with no settled way of life and no firm standards to live by, a telling argument. Ask a student to give an extemporaneous speech from this frame of reference.

A CASE FOR APARTHEID

Subject Objectives: to know:

that the standard of living of Africans in South Africa is better than that of most other Africans on the continent.

that the South African government has spent large sums of money on public welfare programs for the African population.

that Foreign Minister Mueller's basic assumption about apartheid implies that standard of living is the most important goal of African residents of South Africa.

that Mueller defends apartheid exclusively on economic terms.

Cognitive Objectives:

2.20 Interpretation of the meaning of Mueller's statement.

4.10 Analysis of elements, particularly the ability to recognize Mueller's assumptions and those of the film strip.

3.00 Application of Mueller's ideology to a white's defense of apartheid.

Materials: Reading 14, "Let the World Take Note"
Film strip: "South Africa: Dynamic Progress"

Show the film strip at the beginning of the period. State that it is produced by the South African government.	
What are the assumptions of the pictures? What are the assumptions of the Mueller speech?	Develop the theme that both the pictures and speech pay close attention to housing, medical service, education (of a limited level of occupation potentials), and the so-called self-government of the Transkei. Note that neither the pictures nor speech concentrate on the human or Christian elements which the reading for Day 15, (Luthuli) will discuss. Note also that the pictures and the speech assume that the economic success of South Africa in some way justify the system of racial separation.
On what grounds, then, does Mueller defend apartheid?	Primarily on economic grounds.
On the basis of earlier readings, how dependent is this economic success on the labor of the Africans?	Note how low wage rates make it possible to produce goods at a comparative advantage. In particular, the price of gold is set by a world market--the cost of gold production is determined by the local wage rate.
What are the alternative relationships between two cultures?	Recall the possibilities outlined on page 21 -- merger, assimilation, accommodation, apartheid, extermination.
On the basis of Mueller's speech and the pictures, what alternatives do you anticipate in South Africa?	Engage in discussion of possible economic, political, and social combinations.

THE CASE AGAINST APARTHEID

Subject Objectives: to know:

that Luthuli attacks apartheid on both theoretical and practical grounds, arguing that apartheid is impractical and that it hurts both black and white.

that his ideology is really derived from the western Christian and democratic tradition.

Cognitive Objectives:

2.20 Interpretation of the meaning of Luthuli's statement.

4.10 Analysis of elements, particularly the ability to recognize Luthuli's assumptions.

3.00 Application of Luthuli's ideology to a white's defense of apartheid.

Materials: Reading 15, "Africa and Freedom: The Recognition and Preservation of the Rights of Man"
Assorted pictures: An African's View of Apartheid

Show the pictures.	(Scenes of urban slum conditions, labor permits, police brutality)
Review the assumptions of yesterday's film strip produced by the South African government.	Recall the large emphasis on standard of living.
Who is Luthuli?	See biographical details in introduction.
On what grounds does he attack apartheid?	On both practical and theoretical grounds. Note particularly Luthuli's reliance on the Christian arguments against apartheid. Comment on the source of Christian ideas and why an African might use these arguments.
Are other arguments western in origin?	Yes. He argues for human equality, for democratic political systems, for justice to all men, for economic equality and for many other aspects of western democracy.
Compare Luthuli's assumptions with those of Mueller.	
Where did he get these ideas?	See biographical details in the introduction.
What has been the effect of the diffusion of western culture in this case?	It has given Luthuli a ready-made ideology to use in his plea to end apartheid.
Do you think Luthuli's ideas represent those of most Bantu?	Encourage discussion. Ask if he is a typical Bantu. Ask if all Bantu will be likely to embrace non-violence as a technique.
What is Luthuli's solution?	Note the absence of definite proposals except persuasion of the whites through non-violent techniques. Will this succeed?
Given this ideology, what will happen?	Persuasion probably won't work. Will non-violence? If not, what next? If time remains, organize an extemporaneous debate between students who speak from the frame of reference of Luthuli and that of Mueller.

SOUTH AFRICA, Reading 16 Lesson Plan

Subject Objectives: to know:

that the problem of apartheid divides South Africans into four major groups, each of which proposes a solution.

that the solutions proposed cannot be reconciled.

that the people of South Africa must accept the implications of the solution they accept.

Cognitive Objective:

5.20 Producing a plan of operations to be followed in South Africa.

Materials: Reading 16

What is the problem in South Africa?	Encourage discussion. Insist on a sharp, one-sentence statement of the problem.
What are the four answers proposed by various South African groups?	Have four students define each of the answers precisely.
Let's break into four groups to explore the implications of these proposed solutions. Divide class. Give each group one of the four positions. Tell groups to discuss for five minutes in order to delineate the policy implications of their position.	Call class back together. Have a reporter from each group indicate the implications which discussion brought out. Encourage students to ask questions of the reporters. Let half ask from Luthuli's point of view and half from Mueller's.
What do you think will happen in South Africa? Why?	Permit discussion. Use this opportunity to review the entire unit. Bring in any recent clippings from the newspaper which bear on the subject.

APARTHEID IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA Final Examination

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This examination is divided into two parts. The first part is an objective examination, consisting of 15 questions for which you should allot 15 minutes. The second part is an essay examination to be written during the remainder of the period.

For each question in the objective section choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

D – 1. Both apartheid and segregation legally prohibit all of the following types of social contact EXCEPT:
A. mixed marriages.
B. sharing public recreational facilities, such as parks and swimming pools.
C. sharing the same public schools.
[✓ D.] sharing the same residential area.

C – 2. Ellen Hellmann's "Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard"
A. justifies South Africa's policy of apartheid.
B. demonstrates that South Africa's apartheid policy is misguided.
[✓ C.] indicates some of the problems that may have led the Afrikaners to institute a policy of apartheid.
D. indicates what it is like to live under apartheid.

C – 3. Which of the following cultural traits of the Bantu was most easily transferred to city life?
A. the dominant role of men.
B. the informal education system.
[✓ C.] the economic role of women.
D. the economic role of men.

A – 4. What characterized the economic decision-making process of the tribal Bantu?
[✓ A.] Most decisions were made according to tradition.
B. Most decisions were made in the market.
C. Most decisions were made by command.
D. Most decisions were made in the governing council.

D – 5. Political leadership in Bantu society was given to the
A. most popular men in the village.
B. wisest men in the village.
C. most articulate men in the village.
[✓ D.] oldest men in the village.

B /6. In which of the following ways did the Bantu differ from the Hottentot?
A. They had a far more advanced technology.
[✓ B.] Their political system gave unity to larger groups of people.
C. Their social structure was based upon family organization.
D. Their economy was based on the herding of cattle.

C — 7. Afrikaner nationalism differs from nationalism in European countries in that
- A. it is based upon a common language.
- B. it is based upon a common heritage.
- [✓ C.] it is based upon the exclusion of those sharing the same country.
- D. it is based upon the desire to promote a common religion or common set of ideals.

B — 8. What did the Zulu value most?
- A. Industriousness
- [✓ B.] Courage
- C. Honesty
- D. Courtesy

A — 9. Why did the Dutch originally colonize South Africa?
- [✓ A.] They wished to establish a "service station" on the route to the Indies.
- B. They wished to mine the rich mineral resources of South Africa.
- C. They wished to establish a colony to provide for the surplus population of the Netherlands.
- D. They wished to establish a colony that would provide agricultural products to the mother country.

D - 10. Which of the following groups was exterminated in South Africa?
- [✓ A.] Bantu
- B. Boer
- C. British
- D. Hottentot

Please turn to page 3 of the exam.

Questions 11 through 15 refer to the following statements.

I. The passage indicates that the author was an eyewitness of the event he was describing.

II. The passage reveals in its language a bias in the author which might prevent him from telling the truth.

III. The passage indicates that the author accepts hearsay evidence from others.

IV. The passage reveals that the author is trying to defend an action that someone else might condemn.

B- 11. Which of the statements above best describes the following passage: "Dingaan's conduct was worthy of a savage, as he is. It was base and treacherous, to say the least of it; the offspring of cowardice and fear."?

A. I only
[✓ B.] II only
C. II & III only
D. II & IV only

A- 12. Which of the statements above best describes the following passage: "This morning, when we were at prayer, the unusual sound of muskets was heard from the west. This proved to be the arrival of the Boers, who presently entered the town on horseback, with their guns in their hands."?

[✓ A.] I only
B. III only
C. II & IV only
D. III & IV only

D- 13. Which of the statements above best describes the following passage: "The messenger was anxious for my answer; but what could I say? I was fearful on the one hand of seeming to justify the treachery; and on the other of exposing myself...to probable danger. Moreover, I could not but feel that it was my duty to [warn] the Boers of the intended massacre; while certain death would have ensued...if I had been detected in giving them this information."?

A. II only
B. III only
C. IV only
[✓ D.] I & IV only

C- 14. Which of the statements above best describes the following passage: "As we have since been informed, a missionary had, in Retief's absence, been with Dingaan. The king enquired of him who [Retief's party] was, and the answer was that "They were deserters from their king."

A. I only
B. II only
[✓ C.] III only
D. II & IV only

D- 15. Which of the statements above best describes the following passage: "So far as we have learned, Dingaan was very friendly to Retief when he arrived....He signed the agreement, and then invited Retief and his companions to come and eat and drink with him. Then his treachery manifested itself in the death and martyrdom which all our friends were doomed to undergo."?

A. II only
B. III only
C. IV only
[✓ D.] II & III only

Select ONE of the following essay questions and write a concise argument supporting or refuting the statement. The essay will count for one-half of the exam.

1. In South Africa, Afrikaner nationalism is apartheid and apartheid is Afrikaner nationalism. Comment!

or

2. Had there been no industrialization in South Africa, there would have been no apartheid. Comment!

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN INDIA

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ECONOMIC GROWTH IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The future of freedom in Asia may depend upon whether the economy of India can develop faster than the growth in population. If population growth outstrips agricultural production, people will starve by the millions. Unless industry develops rapidly to absorb people from the villages, they will crowd the land beyond its capacity. Moreover, without increased industrial production, the standard of living of millions of people in India's vast cities will deteriorate. These conditions provide fertile soil for Communist agitators. Their toll in human terms would be immense.

India has been free since 1947 when the English dropped the reins of government. In the following years India has struggled valiantly with her vast problems. She was forced to settle the issue of religious rivalry between Hindu and Moslem, a rivalry which eventually resulted in a vast religious war during which millions of Moslems fled to Pakistan while Hindus made their way from Pakistan to India. She was forced to develop a democratic political system among a people who were largely illiterate and quite unaccustomed to ruling themselves. She faced external enemies in China and Pakistan and had to keep a large standing army to protect herself. At the same time, she faced the pressing problem of a rapidly rising population and an economy growing far too slowly to accommodate her poverty-stricken people at a decent standard of living.

The development of the Indian economy has been conditioned by two major factors. The first is the traditional Indian society which has established a way of life which will be difficult to change. Yet change it must if the economy is to grow. The second is the centuries of British rule during which the foundations for a modern economic and political system were laid down. India has built upon these foundations, changing some of them to suit new needs which have become apparent since independence.

The introductory reading for this unit analyzes these needs and discusses the resources with which India hopes to fill them. It was written by Pitambar Pant who is in charge of the Planning Division of the Indian Planning Commission, the body responsible for making plans for economic development. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is India's major agricultural problem? How does she propose to solve it? Her industrial problem?
2. What are her major resources--natural, capital and human? How does she propose to develop them?
3. How is population growth related to the problems of economic development?

READING I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA *

* Pitambar Pant, "The Development of India," in SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, September, 1963, Volume 209, pp. 189-202.

This article describes the philosophy, the problems and the achievements of the first twelve years of economic planning by the Indian government. The author analyzes India's natural, human, and capital resources in both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy and under both private and public ownership

THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Stating the Issue

To a degree every society is a prisoner of its past. The past sets the folkways and mores which the present obeys. The past established institutions resistant to change. The past builds a value system which helps to determine the things men treasure. The past can be changed only when people are willing to see ancient mores, folkways, institutions and values scrapped for new ones. To many people, particularly to illiterate peasants living in isolated villages, change is the great enemy. How to persuade them?

Societies change in two ways. Sometimes new things are invented for the first time, just as some primitive man first discovered how to make fire by striking sparks from flint. In the modern underdeveloped world, however, most of the impetus for change comes from diffusion, from ideas carried to the newer nations from the industrialized West. Whether these ideas will take root in a new land depends in part upon the native culture. Some cultures are more receptive to specific changes than are others. Within a given culture, some ideas or institutions will be accepted more rapidly than others. In any case the traditional culture of an area will have a profound impact upon the process of diffusion.

We will begin our study of economic growth and development in contemporary India by studying traditional Indian society. How was the society organized? What were its major institutions? Its mores and folkways? Its values? These are the questions we will study in Readings II through VI.

READING II

RELIGION

India is a land of immense racial and religious diversity. There is no such thing as a typical Indian racial group; a wide variety of racial groups are represented in the vast sub-continent. Tremendous diversity also exists in the sphere of religion. Although over 80 per cent of the Indians are Hindus, followers of other religions are also significant in numbers. For instance, India contains one of the largest Muslim populations in the world, exceeded only by Pakistan and Indonesia. The Christian population in India is around 8 million, centered mainly in the South. There are over 6 million Sikhs, most of whom live in the Punjab and around Delhi. In addition to these four groups, there are Buddhists and Jains, Parsees (Zoroastrians) and Jews, animists and tribal peoples. The presence of so many different religious groups has helped to create a climate of tolerance, but at times it has also led to violence and conflict.

The hold of religion on the Indian people has always been strong. Even today the intensity of religious belief remains unshaken. This is not surprising for India has a profound religious tradition and has given birth to two of the world's great religions--Hinduism and Buddhism--which have a total following of nearly 600 million people. Although Buddhism is no longer the important religion it once was in India, it is still the major religion of many other countries, particularly in Southeast Asia.

Hinduism and Buddhism are related religions in the sense that they stem from common social and value systems. Buddhism may have begun as an attempt to reform Hinduism. It spread through much of the country, but did not replace Hinduism entirely. After a period of about one thousand years, the latter reemerged as the dominant religion of India.

The following article, written by an American who has spent the last fifteen years living in and reading about India, describes Hinduism in simple language. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How unified is Hinduism? How varied? How does this type of religion differ from Christianity?
2. Is religion important to the daily life of Hindus? What evidence can you give for your conclusion?
3. What attitudes about everyday life and about after life does Hinduism foster? What effect might these attitudes have upon economic development?
4. What are some of the important practices which result from Hindu thought? What effect might they have on economic growth?

HINDUISM: THE RELIGION OF THE MAJORITY *

* From Beatrice Pitney Lamb, INDIA, A WORLD IN TRANSITION, (Frederick A. Praeger, New York: 1963), pp. 97-115, passim.

This excerpt describes the major beliefs and practices of Hinduism, the religion of the majority of Indians. It concentrates on the practices of Hinduism in the villages and the effect there of religion on daily life. The implications of Hinduism for economic growth are implicit rather than specific.

READING III

CASTE

Caste is the basic social fact of India. Hindu society is made up of hundreds of castes and sub-castes arranged in order of precedence. The individual is first and foremost a member of his caste, and it is to caste that he owes his first loyalty. For centuries caste has governed every facet of the life of the Hindu people. Since it is a complete system providing codes of conduct to its members and demanding that they lead their lives according to prescribed ritual, caste affects both nation-building and economic development.

Caste is not easy to define. Caste is not simply class since in most castes there are rich and poor. It is not a color distinction; there are some Brahmans who are very dark and many Untouchables of fair complexion. Nor is it a distinction based on occupation. Anyone can become a farmer, and many priests are not Brahmans.

Caste must not be confused with "varna," the term used to describe the ancient Hindu division of society by occupation. According to legend, the four "varnas" were created out of the body of the Deity. The Brahman (priest) was formed from his head, the Kshatriya (warrior) from his arms, the Vaishya (merchant) from the trunk, and the Sudras (cultivator or artisan) from his feet. But the "varnas" are not four original castes, as is often mistakenly supposed.

Bearing in mind that no definition of the term can account for its complexity and variety, a caste can be defined as a number of families whose members marry each other, dine together, and follow a commonly shared set of rules of behavior. These rules cover just about everything--not just what a man may eat or drink, but also how food should be prepared, when a man should wash, what clothes he should wear, how and when he should worship, and so on.

The reading for today describes some of the rules and practices of caste. It was written by Taya Zinkin, the Indian correspondent for The Manchester Guardian and The Economist. Mrs. Zinkin is the author of several books about India. As you read, think about the following questions.

1. What is a caste? How does caste influence the behavior of its members?
2. Does it offer social and psychological advantages to Indians? Would this system be hard to undermine?
3. How is caste related to the traditional values and religion of India?
4. How is caste tied to traditional economic relationships? Will caste restrictions have to change before economic progress can take place? What effect upon the work patterns of a modern factory would the observance of caste relationships have?

CASTE IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE *

* From Taya Zinkin, CASTE TODAY, London Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1962, 24-35, passim.

This excerpt describes the way in which caste affects the lives of Hindus in Indian villages. The author discusses caste rules as she observed them in practice. She also comments about the various ways in which caste regulations help to inhibit change.

READING IV

THE FAMILY

The family is the primary social institution for man in most of the world. Most men are born into families and owe to their families their primary loyalty. In American society, a person's family helps to define his social position and identify him among his acquaintances. In India, however, a man is defined first by his caste; within the caste he is defined by family.

Yet family plays an extremely important role in the life of most Indians, as the following selection indicates. For instance, the family is the primary educational agency for most Indians; it is responsible for teaching the young what caste duties they have and for teaching the skills they need to pursue the family occupation.

Family still exerts a strong hold on the loyalties of most Indians. Since it performs so many of the functions that other institutions perform in the United States and other western countries, the average Indian feels lost without it. He finds it hard to allow some other institution to take over the functions that normally have been performed by the family. The family's hold on the heart and mind of Indians has great consequences for India's hopes for economic growth.

As you read Taya Zinkin's description of the Indian family, think about the following questions.

1. What functions does the family perform? Which of these functions are normally assumed by other institutions in modern, western countries? What implications does the role of the family have for economic development?
2. What are India's marriage customs? What do these customs imply about the role of marriage and the family? What influence might these customs have on economic growth?
3. What influence does the family have on young people who wish to move to the city? What will happen to the family if young people do move to the city?
4. What evidence of change in the traditional family structure can you find in this article? What is the role of economic growth in this change?

* From Taya Zinkin, INDIA CHANGES! (Oxford University Press, 1958) 50-60 passim.

These two passages discuss the rules and customs which surround arranged marriages in India and the role of the joint family in Indian life. Both institutions involve a large number of people in a web of interpersonal relationships within caste lines. The ways in which family inhibits change are made clear.

READING V

THE VILLAGE

For thousands of years the great majority of India's people have lived in villages. Today more than half-a-million villages dot the countryside. Village life still follows a pattern which has remained virtually unchanged for centuries. Most villages are small and isolated, the horizons of their inhabitants extending only to the edge of nearby fields. Only in the past few years has growing contact with the outside world begun to change the traditional pattern of village life.

No one can hope to understand traditional India without knowledge of village life. But there is no typical village. Differences from one village to another are infinite depending on a host of factors such as climatic variations, the crops which are cultivated, caste patterns, the sort of political system and many others. Despite these differences, a few generalizations about villages will apply to all of India.

The village is both the hope and the despair of the nation. In the villages live most of India's people and from them comes the food which must feed everyone in the vast subcontinent. If the villages can produce more and control their burgeoning population, then the entire society can advance. But the villages can also doom the new Indian government to failure. If they are unable or unwilling to change, the plans which the government has made will certainly fail. And change comes hard in this traditional society.

Reading V describes a typical south Indian village. Its author, Professor Alan R. Beals, lived in and studied Indian villages on two field trips which extended over a five-year period. In this reading he describes life in Gopalpur as he saw it. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. How do typical people spend their day in Gopalpur? Why in this way rather than in some other?
2. What sort of farming techniques are employed? What is produced for market? What forms the source of cash income with which tools might be purchased? Will productivity per man be high?
3. How closely is Gopalpur tied to the outside world? How can new ideas penetrate?
4. How does village life help to breed the attitudes described in the last paragraph? What effect might attitudes such as these have upon economic growth?

GOPALPUR: A SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGE *

* From Alan R. Beals, GOPALPUR: A SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGE, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York: 1963), pp. 2-11, passim.

The article contains an anthropologist's account of life in a village in South India. The author describes the appearance of the village and the farm lands which surround it. He then describes the daily round of life which takes place as the villagers make their living within the limits set by natural resources and custom.

READING VI

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE

Americans are accustomed to thinking of politics in terms of national elections. For us local and state governments do not seem nearly so important as developments in the national arena. But imagine how differently an inhabitant of an Indian village must feel. He may never have traveled farther than fifteen miles or so from his birthplace. The news of events taking place in far off New Delhi may never reach his ear. What is most important may well be more closely linked to his fields and to the members of his caste in his own village than to the bills considered by the national Indian parliament.

Before India became independent of British control, natives in the villages were even more localist in their interests than they are now. The articles you will read for this assignment were written about village politics in the 1940's. Since the political situation in the villages has been virtually unchanged for centuries, they also describe traditional Indian society. The villages you will read about are isolated in the southern part of the peninsula and have little contact with the central government. For many inhabitants of the village, the central government might as well not exist at all, so little is its influence felt.

These two excerpts emphasize a point which we have studied previously: the intimate relationships of the political system and the social structure of which it is a part. The two villages described are quite different in some ways, but in each the political system is tightly interwoven with strands from the wider culture. In the first village, the caste whose members compose the majority of the populace really run political affairs despite the presence in the village of a few high-caste Brahmans. In the second village, the Brahmans dominate politics entirely, but they also dominate social life and general caste relationships. Clearly in these two instances political systems are reflections of the wider culture of which they are a part.

As you read these two excerpts, consider the following questions:

1. What questions would you ask to analyze the political system of these two villages? What answers can you give to these questions on the basis of the evidence presented in this reading?
2. What problems would local governmental institutions like these present to economic development?
3. How were the political structures of these villages related to the culture of which they were a part? How easy would it be to change the political structure of the villages?

POLITICS IN A MYSORE VILLAGE *

The following passage describes the political system of Rampura, a Mysore village, in South India. The village had about 1500 residents when this study was made in 1948. The village, larger than most, also had people of more castes as residents; there were 19 Hindu castes as well as some Muslims resident in the village.

* M. N. Srinivas, "The Social System of a Mysore Village," in INDIA'S VILLAGES, M. N. Srinivas et al., (West Bengal Government Press, Calcutta, 1955) 19+

The concept of the dominant caste is discussed and how it is important to the government of the village. The dominant caste in this instance is the Peasant caste.

THE POLITICS IN A TANJORE VILLAGE *

Kumbapetti, the site of this study, is in Tanjore Province at the southern tip of India. The village is dominated by Brahmans; there are some thirty-six Brahman homes in the city and the Brahmans own a disproportionate share of the land. People from seventeen castes live in the village.

* E. Kathleen Gough, "The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village," in M. N. Srinivas et al., op. cit. 82+

The dominant caste in this village case study is the Brahmin caste. Discusses the village as a unit in terms of the Brahman domination.

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST

Stating the Issue

India was one of the first areas of the non-western world to feel the impact of western ideas, institutions and technology. Her wealth first drew explorers to the great sub-continent in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1600 British merchants founded the British East India Company to exploit India's wealth of natural resources such as indigo, jute, and spices. Gradually the Company, and eventually the British government, took over control of the entire sub-continent.

The first Englishmen to come to India found a society deeply rooted in traditional ways. Politically, the sub-continent was divided into several hereditary kingdoms. Each kingdom concerned itself only with protecting its inhabitants from external aggression and internal violence and with collecting sufficient revenue to take care of these police functions and provide the ruler with a life of splendor. Local government was centered in the village and had little relationship to the central government. Its only obligation to the king was to see that the taxes were collected. No code of laws prevailed anywhere in India; judicial decisions were based on long established customs and mores. The family, caste and the village were the three basic social institutions of India and they regulated the pattern of life. Most Indians were farmers, growing crops to feed their household. Very few crops were intended to be sold to others; non-farmers did not buy their food in a market but were given food from the taxes collected by the village government. The village was the primary economic unit of India. It provided all of the goods and services needed by its inhabitants. The villages of India were not tied together by an economic interdependence.

The British made a profound impact on this traditional society. The Englishmen came with a parliamentary political system, a market economy that was undergoing rapid industrialization, a relatively fluid social structure, and a value system based largely on utilitarianism, which held that the happiness of man was the primary end of all society.

Readings VII through X concentrate on the collision between these two very different cultures. As you study the readings in this section, consider the following questions: What western ideas, institutions and values did the British emphasize? What was the Indian reaction to the British way of life? What changes did the British bring about in the traditional culture? Did the British prepare India for an economic take-off?

READING VII

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

English, Dutch and other European merchants arrived in India early in the seventeenth century to conduct a profitable trade in spices, cotton and silk cloth, and other Indian products. The Portuguese had arrived even earlier, but with the coming of other European powers their trading monopoly ended. The Europeans established trading posts in the coastal areas, but so long as the Mogul kingdoms remained unified and powerful, the Europeans had to limit their activities to trade.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century Mogul central authority began to weaken, and disintegration rapidly set in. Indian princes began struggling with each other; the Europeans found themselves involved in these disputes. The British and French East India Companies backed rival princes, each side hoping to acquire the fruits of victory, and in this way to increase their strength and influence. They also fought each other for many years in South India until the British finally gained the upper hand. Their struggle in India, as in North America at this time, was an extension of their conflict in Europe.

The British then moved against the rich province of Bengal in the east, defeated its Muslim nawab (ruler) at Plassey in 1757, and gained control of this key area with all its wealth. In the decades that followed, servants of the Company made vast fortunes by exploiting the riches of the country which they shipped to England. From Bengal they went on to other parts of India. After much fighting extending over many years, they defeated both the Marathas and the Sikhs, two of the strongest native powers. By 1850, almost the entire country had been brought under their control.

What were the reasons for their amazing success? It is true that the British had on the whole superior arms and equipment, although when the conquest of India began Britain had not become an industrial power. Britain also controlled the seas. But more important was the fact that the Indians were divided among themselves with no sense of national unity. To an Indian prince, Britain was merely one power to oppose or support as expediency dictated. Most of the fighting for the East India Company was done by Indian sepoys (soldiers); only a few British troops were stationed in India. The absence of Indian nationalist sentiment enabled Britain to rely on native troops and to play politics just as if it were one of the many Indian powers fighting to establish its rule after the Mogul kingdoms had collapsed. In some cases the British did not overthrow native princes, but made treaties with them instead. For this reason, about one-third of India remained under the rule of Indian princes. The rest was directly under British control.

In 1857 the Indian Mutiny broke out and nearly overthrew the British rulers. The mutiny was a military revolt by one section of the army, supported by various princes and representatives of the old order. Large parts of India, particularly the South, remained unaffected. It was crushed with great severity. In 1858

Company rule was ended, and the British government took control. Less than a hundred years later the British withdrew.

With them the British brought the ideas and institutions of the West. In some cases western ways stood in sharp conflict with traditional Indian society. As western ways were imposed upon India, many aspects of traditional life were destroyed. Reading VII traces the policies of the British during their 350-year history in India. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. How were British ideas and institutions transmitted to India?
2. What developments in nineteenth century Britain caused the English to attempt to change Indian life?
3. Why did the British abolish the practices described at the end of this reading rather than concentrate on changing other aspects of Indian life?
4. To what extent did the British destroy traditional Indian society? To what extent did India adopt British ways?

BRITISH POLICY AND INDIAN SOCIETY

When the British conquered India, they found themselves in possession of a country whose society resembled the middle ages more than the modern world. There was no sense of nationalism. The Indians thought of themselves as members of a caste or of a religious group rather than as citizens of a nation. Political life was organized around hundreds of petty states, much like feudal kingdoms of medieval Europe. Religion dominated every aspect of life. All these institutions, practices, and customs made India seem more medieval than modern to observers from Britain.

These conditions forced British administrators to decide whether to modernize and reform this ancient land or to leave its institutions intact and govern through them. Ideally, British rule in India should have blended traditional Indian society with a more modern political and economic system imported from the West. But traditional and modern societies, as the British soon learned, are difficult to blend.

British rule in India can be divided into three periods, each characterized by a certain attitude toward Indian institutions and customs. For about a half-century British officers, impressed by the great strength of the Mogul Empire, were not sure that they could retain their position in India. For this reason they did not want to arouse enemies unnecessarily by violating the ancient ways of the country. In addition, a number of the administrators were scholars who had great respect for the Indian customs. Some of them, having discovered a new world different from Europe, seemed anxious to preserve it intact, almost as if it were a museum.

This mood changed early in the nineteenth century. For one thing, the British became impressed by their own industrial revolution. The new outlook caused their attitudes toward India to change. India became in part a market and a source of raw materials to be protected. The traditional village economy began to seem even more backward in contrast to England's smoky factory towns.

In addition, British administrators became advocates of a philosophy commonly called utilitarianism. The utilitarians wanted governments to wipe away superstition making nations into societies of thrifty, independent freemen each of whom, by working for his own happiness, would contribute to the happiness of all. James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill and an official of the British East India Company, wrote a history of India in the first of the nineteenth century. His book is full of contempt for almost every aspect of Indian society. Mill assumed that if India was to be improved, changes had to be imposed by the British to undermine traditional Indian customs. One quotation from Mill's book may make his attitude clear.

> "No people how rude or ignorant soever who have been so far advanced as to leave us memorials of their thoughts in writing have ever drawn a more gross and disgusting picture of the universe than what is presented in the writing of the Hindus."

This book became a kind of manual for British who were destined to serve in India.

A third major reason for change was the influence of Christian missionaries. In the 18th century the British East India Company had excluded missionaries from its territories in India. In the 19th century, however, the pressure of pious Englishmen on the government forced the Company to reverse its policy. Missionaries flooded in. They were shocked by many aspects of Indian life such as the practice of suttee, under which the widow of a Hindu burned herself to death on her husband's funeral pyre. The missionaries looked on Hindu gods as devils and argued that the Indians had become subject to British rule as a penalty for their wickedness. This attitude contributed to a growing belief among the British in the inferiority of things Indian.

The belief in the inferiority of India coming from these three influences -- industrialism, utilitarianism and the activities of missionaries -- brought about an attempt to change the traditional society. This second period of British administration came to an end with the Great Indian Mutiny in 1857. This mutiny has quite properly been blamed on the activities of the reformers who had stirred the Indians until they took up arms in revolt.

The third period of British administration, lasting almost a hundred years, was again conservative. The British recognized that Indian institutions had widespread support from the inhabitants of the country. They recognized the danger of attacking them openly. From this attitude a mixture of toleration and contempt developed. On the whole the British lapsed into maintaining day-to-day administration and not pushing for reforms. As a result, a number of archaic institutions were permitted to continue and function.

Despite the conservative attitude of both the first and third periods of British rule, great changes did take place in Indian society. The actions of the British affected primarily the two-thirds of the country which they administered directly. The remaining third, governed by the princes, changed far more slowly. But everywhere India changed. British influence was one of the principal disintegrating forces turned upon the old society. It affected the whole body of custom and folkway which held the society together. Some of these ancient ways fell under direct attack from the British governors.

Throughout the period of British rule, but particularly during the second period when British governors were most anxious to make reforms, a few practices of Hindu society were particularly offensive to the British. Most of these practices offended the humanitarian and individualistic habits of mind typical of nineteenth century Britons. For example, in 1829 the Governor-General prohibited the practice of suttee. Aroused by Protestant missionaries and supported in the British press, the Governor-General made the practice illegal and charged with murder anyone who forced a woman to indulge in it. Within two decades suttee was abolished even in the princely states where the British had comparatively little control.

Several other practices which were similarly offensive to British behavior met similar fates. British officials eventually abolished thuggee, a practice by which followers of the goddess Kali strangled victims to death and buried their corpses without a trace. Early in the 1830's the practices of this sect were exposed and its members hunted down and hanged.

The British also intervened in the practice of infanticide. Many girl babies were killed to avoid the economic expenses of providing a dowry when they were to be married. Because unmarried women were considered a family disgrace, some families put infant girls to death. The British, by giving presents to tribes which agreed to keep their daughters alive and by supplying funds for marriageable girls, gradually abolished this practice.

Similarly the British broke up the bandit bands which had plagued India for centuries. Sepoy soldiers hunted them down and British-dominated courts brought them to justice. During these same years in mid-nineteenth century the British abolished slavery in India. The slave trade had been forbidden by Lord Cornwallis in 1789. Beginning in the 1830's the governors began to take steps to free the nine million people held in slavery. In 1860 keeping slaves was made a criminal offense. Thus another practice in direct violation of British ways was abolished.

Stopping famines proved to be more difficult. Indian agriculture depends for its prosperity upon the monsoon rains which bring moisture from the seas to the land. When the monsoon failed, famine resulted. Particularly severe famines took a frightening toll of human life every few years. The British, by building railroads across the length and breadth of India, made it possible to shuttle food from one area of the land to another. They also imported food to stave off several famines late in the nineteenth century. In addition the British helped to build irrigation systems so that by 1900 India had 14,000,000 acres under irrigation, more than any other nation in the world. Gradually the worst of the famines were wiped out.

These reforms did not affect the key institutions of Indian life. Suttee, thuggee, infanticide, slavery, banditry -- even famines -- could all be abolished without affecting the essential social structure of India. Yet these reforms were hailed abroad as humanitarian triumphs. In the long run, other changes proved to be far more significant. We will study these changes in readings eight through ten.

READING VIII

THE BRITISH IN INDIA: POLITICS AND EDUCATION

A conquering nation can change the society of the people it has conquered in a number of ways. Reading VII illustrated some of them. The British simply outlawed a number of practices, such as suttee, of which they disapproved and enforced their decrees with troops and the courts. As long as the occupying force is powerful enough and the practices outlawed are not essential to the conquered people, change can be made by decree and force. The most important changes brought by the British, however, came about in different ways.

The British brought with them to India a value system and a set of institutional arrangements which worked well in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. Their value system determined the direction of their rule to a marked degree. Their institutions--parliaments, schools, an enterprise economic system--grafted onto Indian life, gave new direction to Indian society and at the same time undermined some ancient Indian ways.

Social scientists study the process of diffusion carefully to determine which ideas and institutions from the west are adopted without change, which are adapted to the particular circumstances of a non-western society, and which are rejected completely. They also investigate the parts of a traditional society which the western nation tries hardest to change. By doing so, they learn much about both the conquered and the conquerors. The fact that the British tried so hard to wipe out suttee, thuggee and famines, for example, gives us sharp insights into the value system of the British. So do British attempts to establish parliamentary government, develop a modern educational system and install an enterprise economy. The way in which the Indians have adapted these institutions to their own use since 1947 helps us to understand the nature of traditional Indian society and makes clear some of the problems of diffusion of western culture to the non-western world.

Reading VIII examines the way in which the British established their own political and educational systems in the Indian subcontinent. Without these institutions, the present society of India would not have emerged. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What political institutions from England were exported to India? Did the English attempt to blend them with traditional Indian political institutions? How could these institutions influence the pattern of economic growth after independence?
2. What types of schools did the British establish? How did they serve the government? The economy?
3. Was the net effect of the development of these institutions good or bad for India? By what criteria can you answer this question?

SOME BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA

For many years students of India thought that the most obvious gift of the British had been political unity. Indian society had always tended to fall apart. The political subdivisions which resulted hindered the development of the country's potential. India's very size presented problems. Not even the Mogul Empire had unified the entire land. The long period of British rule, however, had seemed to unify India at last. Unhappily, she was not as unified as she appeared. As soon as British rule ended after World War II, war between Hindus and Moslems broke the subcontinent into two countries, India and Pakistan. But within each of these two countries there was a far greater degree of unity than had ever existed before the influence of the British.

The construction of a modern government was a far more enduring achievement. In ancient India society had always been held together by ties between individuals motivated either by personal loyalty or by fear. The British forged a new link through institutions. On the whole, these institutions--parliaments, law courts, political parties and so forth--were much like their British counterparts. Because the new institutions set up in India were modeled after those of a democratic society, they became an excellent training ground for modern Indian democracy.

The development of political institutions in India falls into two periods. First came the establishment of a government of law. Government by law has been the outstanding characteristic of British politics. Under a government by law, officials promise to act according to rules. They do not take arbitrary action against citizens. No one can be punished unless he breaks the law and the law, instead of people with power, is supreme in the society. Officials carry out the law; they do not stand above it.

On a number of occasions the British violated their own rules of law. Sometimes they acted in an extremely high-handed manner. But despite these exceptions the establishment of the rule of law in India guaranteed citizens their freedom against arbitrary action by governing officials to a greater extent than ever before known in Asia. Within wide limits the Indians enjoyed freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. To this extent British rule helped to promote individual liberty.

As it did in England, the rule of law operated in India by means of law codes and courts. Here the British made great innovations. Law in the East, as in most traditional societies, came from custom which was not easily altered. The British introduced a system under which laws could be changed easily to meet changing needs. They wrote new civil and criminal laws copied from western systems. Since these codes had little regard for Indian tradition, they helped to change the society.

Another great constructive achievement by the British in the area of politics was to introduce the representative assembly to India. Representative government was totally unknown in Asia. From the late 19th century onward, the British set up representative assemblies for every unit of government throughout the land. They set up boards for the districts whose population was usually between half-a-million and a million, city governments for urban areas, legislatures for provinces and a central legislature for the entire country. At first these assemblies only had consultative functions, but the British recognized that in time responsible government would develop through them.

To run their vast Indian empire, the British set up the Indian Civil Service. This corps of elite administrators was first established by the British East India Company in the eighteenth century. Until World War II, the vast majority of the top administrative posts were always filled with Englishmen. These Britishers, well trained and well paid, composed the colonial elite which first pushed India along the path to the modern world. Lesser administrative posts were filled more and more with Indians. By the end of the Second World War, about half of the most important posts and almost all the lesser ones were in Indian hands. Although the Indians were always dissatisfied with the proportion of important and well-paid positions open to them, they were still able to learn how to run a modern state efficiently through their apprenticeship in the Civil Service.

Some men trained for the Civil Service became leaders of India's political parties. Copied from the West, political parties were new to India. As they developed, popular politicians, who were able to win positions of power by influencing the mass of the Indian people, rose up. They began to threaten the hold which old princes had upon the political life of the country. In them we can see another western political institution diffused to the East.

The Congress Party has always been the most important of these political groups. Originally founded in the late nineteenth century by Hindu lawyers, educators and jurists to work for parliamentary self-government within the British Empire, the Indian National Congress eventually transformed itself into a political power striving for independence. Its greatest leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, were each able to live in two worlds--traditional India and the West. The Congress Party adopted many of the techniques of western politics as well as many of the aspirations of Western man, but it adapted them to the peculiar circumstances of a developing country where the mass of the people were illiterate.

These political changes disrupted village government. Former invasions of India' had left the peasants more or less untroubled. The British government, however, upset the age-old institution which had been the center of rural government. This was the panchayat, the informal village council which had been the center of the rural political system in most of India. Instead of ruling through the village headmen and constables, the British appointed a new core of petty bureaucrats. As a result the panchayats lost power. The disappearance or undermining of this institution attacked the most important political institution of the villages.

As a result of these changes, the relations between government and the people deteriorated. A great increase in crime followed with long delays in bringing criminals to justice. Eventually, Indians came to look upon government as an enemy rather than as an institution helping to keep society in good order.

In addition to changes in the political system, a number of changes in the cultural life of India had profound importance for the history of the country. One of these was the introduction of the English language as a common tongue. Because Indians spoke so many dialects, men from one part of the country could not communicate with those from another. The decision to use English as a common language stimulated the rise of the nationalist spirit. English is still the language used in the Indian parliament.

In addition to establishing English as a common language, the British introduced an educational system copied from their own society. The sons of orthodox Hindus and Moslems studied the same curriculum as boys of the same age in England. This curriculum helped to plant in the minds of young Indians many of the customs, institutions and beliefs of the West. Many fundamental ideas held by educated Indians today--individualism, humanitarianism, and nationalism, for example--were borrowed from the West through the schools which the British established.

Partly because the Indian schools imitated the educational institutions designed for British elite, they did not emphasize the sorts of education which a developing country most needed: vocational and technical schools. For every college engineering graduate, a modern economy requires from five to ten supporting workers with technical competence, men such as draftsmen, tool and die makers, laboratory technicians and computer programmers. But in the British-built schools, students studied the classical English curriculum and learned to look down upon technical jobs in industry. As a result, many college graduates in India could not find jobs while at the same time, there was a great shortage of men with certain technical skills. The Indians have been forced to try to correct this educational imbalance since independence.

The British also began to modernize the economic life of India. Railroads soon crisscrossed the land. Printing presses rolled out newspapers as rapidly as the presses of New York or London. Steel mills sprang up across the countryside. Great cities formed as the centers of a new civilization which attracted enterprising men from the villages. In these cities the ancient customs seemed less important and were more easily put aside. The new economy affected the entire texture of Indian life.

A system of private enterprise quite new to Indian society grew up. Commercial and banking institutions much like those of the West were established in India. By the third decade of the 20th century India had become one of the leading industrial powers of the world. We will study these developments in detail in Reading IX.

With the rise of a new political, economic and social system a new middle class appeared. This middle class became the leaders of India in the place of traditional leaders left aside by the new changes in Indian life. The middle classes rapidly dominated commerce and the professions. Educated in westernized schools, members of the middle classes developed a sense of civic duty which took its place side by side with a man's duty to his family. This new educated middle class launched an attack on some of the old institutions of Indian society. At the same time it pressed for a new age.

It is impossible to weigh the harmful and the good effects of British rule in India. Is it better to be able to speed rapidly across a continent than to feel secure with a government organized around the village council whose members were known to all? Answers to questions like these depend upon values and cannot be arbitrary. It is clear, however, that the British both undermined the traditional society of India and contributed the foundations of the modern world. It is equally clear that neither process--the undermining or the rebuilding--was complete when the British left India at the end of World War II. Economic development in India has taken place amid a society still in the process of transition from ancient ways to new ones.

READING IX

BRITISH RULE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY

Britain originally conquered India primarily for economic reasons. The owners of the East India Company were anxious to tap the riches of the Far East and to start a flow of gold and spices westward. For centuries India remained a source of raw materials, a market and a profitable site for the investment of capital. Many of the reforms which the British made in India can be viewed as efforts to protect a rich source of money.

The British were always torn, however, between their desires to reform and remake Indian society and their anxiety to get rich from her. Britain could have taken much greater sums of money by taxing the Indians ruthlessly and by despoiling its land of treasure accumulated over many centuries. This is the pattern which many of the Spanish conquerors adopted toward the Indians of Central and South America. But both practical considerations and British values stood in the way of such ruthless policies. The British contributed substantially to the development of the Indian economy at the same time that they made money from it.

At home, the English economy had grown rapidly with minimal planning and minimal centralized decision making. In Britain, however, centuries of slow change had established the preconditions which made rapid growth possible in the late eighteenth century. Traditional India had little in common with modern Britain. Laissez faire economics would not have the same effect as they had had in Britain because the social setting was entirely different. What then, was the impact of the British on India's economy?

Reading IX analyzes the role of the British in the development of the Indian economy. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. When the English left India in 1947, had they helped India establish the preconditions for take-off? Had they helped India enter the take-off stage itself?

2. What changes did the English make in the Indian economy? What effect would these changes have on the traditional ways of doing things?

3. Did the English contribute to the development of capital and human resources? If so, to what extent did they contribute?

4. Do you think India would be better off economically if the English had never ruled the land?

THE BRITISH IMPACT ON THE INDIAN ECONOMY

When the first Englishmen came to India in 1600, neither country had experienced marked economic growth. The British were well on their way to establishing a market economy in their homeland, but they had not yet made rapid strides in increasing their productive capacity. The Indian economy was characterized by thousands of separate, local economies, each providing for itself what it needed. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, England's productive capacity began to expand rapidly. Factories began to spring up near the rivers and coal fields. At the same time, the English established control over India by kicking out her European rivals and by subduing the various Indian princes.

In the ensuing two centuries, India fed the voracious appetite of the English factories with raw materials, and her teeming millions provided a market for the outpouring of English manufactured goods. India contributed much to English economic growth. But did Great Britain contribute to India's economic development, and if so, to what extent?

An analysis of Britain's contribution to India's economic development might begin with Walt Whitman Rostow's theory of economic growth. According to the noted M.I.T. economist, every nation passes through five separate stages of growth in developing its economy. Most nations start with a traditional economy, in which the ways of the past largely determine what, how and for whom goods and services will be produced. Methods of production in traditional economies do not make use of the scientific and technological discoveries made since the seventeenth century.

The second stage of economic growth establishes the preconditions for take-off. This stage is characterized by slow change over a long period of time, often a century or more, during which the preliminary conditions for industrialization are created. Political, social, and economic institutions are generally transformed and new attitudes are shaped in this period. Politically, governments become responsive to the needs of those who will industrialize; they legislate to protect industrialists, passing patent laws and corporation laws, and they make considerable investments in public works, such as canals and turnpikes, to help the industrialists along. Economically, banks and other financial institutions become capable of mobilizing capital for establishing industrial plants. Farmers learn new techniques which increase their productive capacity. The social structure becomes "fluid" enough so that members of wealthy classes can come into contact with talented members of lower classes in an alliance of capital and skill. During this preliminary stage new attitudes about spending gradually take shape; wealthy men learn to invest their money in industrial and mercantile organizations rather than spend it freely on luxury items.

Rostow calls the third phase of economic growth the "take-off" stage. This stage lasts only two or three decades during which the pace of industrialization sharply quickens. The society greatly increases the rate of investment in new plants and equipment. When these additional factories and tools are fully manned, per capita production increases sharply; that is, for each man in the factory the number of goods produced rapidly increases. Usually the factory owners make large profits from their more efficient plants, and they reinvest these profits to build new plants and buy more tools. This pattern of investment, profit, and reinvestment rapidly expands the industrial capacity of the nation.

In the fourth stage, the society sustains the progress made in the take-off period and extends the technology of production to all industry. Rostow has called this phase the drive to maturity. Finally the society enters what Rostow has called the age of high mass consumption. During this stage productive energies are diverted from the production of capital goods, such as machinery, railroads, and factories, to durable goods and services such as refrigerators, radios, and automobiles for the consumer.

At which of these stages did England leave India when the British granted the subcontinent independence in 1947? Did the English establish the preconditions for take-off or bring India to the take-off stage itself? Whatever the answers to these questions, England did not consciously attempt to develop the Indian economy. As colonial governors of the subcontinent, the English were reluctant to interfere in the established customs of the Indians. Only when the customs radically violated the English sense of values did the administrators take steps to break them down. Thuggee and suttee had to go, but the English had no desire to change the Indian farmer's way of cultivating his land. Moreover, the colonial administrators of India were men who believed in laissez faire economics. They did not believe it was the government's role to interfere in economic affairs, either at home or abroad. Finally, one must remember that one of the greatest motivations for maintaining an empire was its service to the economy of the mother country. Though it would be unfair to charge the English with the Marxist accusation that Britain exploited India, most Englishmen believed that India existed to provide ready raw materials and a huge market for their burgeoning industry.

England's economic interest in India pushed the colonial administrators, consciously or not, into making changes in the Indian economy. Perhaps the most important change took place in the life of the Indian peasants, many of whom were forced out of their traditional, subsistence farming because of various pressures applied by British rule over their land. Before the English came to India, the peasants had subsisted almost wholly on what they could grow and make for themselves. Each Indian peasant ate the food that came from his land, built his own house, and made his own clothes. What he could not provide for himself he obtained by barter with the craftsmen of his village. The villages were isolated from each other and, hence, did not exchange with each other for goods and services they could not provide within their own village. British rule, however, forced the Indian peasant, willing or not, into the market.

In the first place, the English administrators refused to collect the land rents in commodities produced on the land. The English demanded cash payments and the peasant, somehow or another, had to obtain money. The peasant was forced, therefore, to sell some of the produce from his farm in the market place to obtain the revenue to pay the taxes.

The peasant was aided in this endeavor, however, by the British interest in cash crops. English factories voraciously consumed cotton fiber by the mile. Indian peasants found that they could sell cotton to the English to obtain the money for paying their taxes. In the early nineteenth century many parts of India turned to the cultivation of cotton. In 1812 the Tinnivelly region cultivated only 45,000 acres of cotton; by 1851, 190,000 acres were devoted to this fiber crop. Between 1802 and 1850 the Bellary region increased the amount of land devoted to cotton by 130,000 acres. Between 1834 and 1846 the portion of land devoted to cotton in Surat increased from 19% to 25%; in Broach it increased from 30% to 45%. By 1925, 28,400,000 acres of Indian soil were allocated to the production of cotton. English interest in raw materials for textiles also encouraged the cultivation of indigo for dye. Between 1801 and 1805, India exported 10,000 chests of indigo to Great Britain; between 1823 and 1828, this number had increased to 22,000 chests. The mark on the Indian economy was apparent by 1889 when 12,700,000 pounds of indigo were transported to England.

The farmer's entry into the market was also aided by the British improvement of transportation facilities and English administrative efficiency. England's chief contribution was the railroad. The English administrators were interested in the development of railroads in order to stabilize their control over India. In order to maintain internal peace the British had to be able to move troops rapidly across the subcontinent. By 1939 the British had constructed 41,000 miles of track to give India one of the largest railway systems in the entire world. The British also began to develop a road network very early in the nineteenth century. By 1859, over 3,000 miles of road connected some of India's largest cities. As a result, the carrying charges on wagons fell drastically, making it easier for the Indian peasant to sell his crops in distant markets. The British also introduced the steamboat to India, reducing the time it took to travel the length of the Ganges from two and one-half months to 25 days. The English administration enlarged the market for the Indian peasant by abolishing all internal tariffs in 1844. With the development of internal peace, the improvements in transportation, and the abolition of tariffs, therefore, the Indian peasant was able to sell his goods in places he had never seen before, and probably would never see.

By encouraging the farmer into the market, the British encouraged agriculture in general. After the English came to India the amount of land under cultivation began to rise sharply. Between 1852 and 1890, Madras increased its cultivated area by 25%. An even more dramatic rise took place between 1861 and 1874 in the Bombay district where 3.3 million acres was added to the cultivated area, an increase of 30%. The increase in cultivated land resulted not only from the incentives provided by an internal and foreign market, but from English capital improvement in the land itself. The British built many dams and irrigation systems in the 19th century with the result that 47,000,000 acres were made arable by 1914.

Yet, despite the improvements in agriculture, when the British left in 1947, India still was not capable of feeding her immense population. Part of the blame for the failure to adequately develop agriculture must be laid on the British.

By forcing the farmer into the market, the British also forced the farmer to give up the security he once had in the land. Before the English established control of the peninsula, land was not a salable commodity. The Indian farmer inherited his land and passed it on to his sons. When the peasant borrowed money, he did not have to place a mortgage on his land. Hence, the peasant was always assured of owning his land free and clear. But the British introduced new laws that made land a salable commodity and that allowed it to be mortgaged for credit. Under British administration, therefore, the moneylenders had a field day. They staked the peasant to the limit, knowing that they could seize his land if he was unable to pay his debts. At the same time, British administration helped increase the population by reducing the effects of isolated famines and by maintaining internal peace. With a rising population the market value of land also rose, encouraging peasants to borrow more freely but also encouraging moneylenders to foreclose more readily. Land gradually fell into the hands of moneylenders and landlords who could make large gains in land speculation, but who saw little value in using their money for land improvement.

Hence, agriculture became stagnant toward the end of the nineteenth century. Ownership of land went to those who had little interest in improving it. The peasant was forced to spend whatever money he had to pay off his debts, rather than to increase the productivity of his meager strip of land. While India's population doubled between 1780 and 1880, her capacity to feed her population grew far more slowly. India had not created the agricultural base to support a large urban population. The only solution to the agricultural problem was sweeping land reform, and the British, an alien ruling power, were unwilling to impose such a drastic reform on their subject peoples.

The failure to generate a productive agriculture impeded efforts to industrialize India. Nonetheless, some industrialization took place under the British administration. Between 1854 and 1939, 339 textile mills and 157 jute mills were built in India, largely with English capital. Coal mining companies, of which two-thirds were British-owned, mined 28,300,000 tons of coal in 1939 as compared to only 500,000 tons in 1868. In the twentieth century the number of Indians employed in factories jumped from 772,571 in 1914 to 1,737,755 in 1939. To facilitate the movement of capital into manufacturing, British banks were established in greater numbers. The colonial administration also passed legislation establishing the principle of limited liability between 1858 and 1862. This legislation encouraged the creation of corporations, since the law provided that stockholders did not have to pay off the debts of the corporation if it went bankrupt.

Despite the encouragement, Indian industry never really grew rapidly. India was still one of the major markets for British manufactured goods; 17.5 million pounds of cotton yarn were sent to India in 1847. English manufacturers did not see many reasons for investing money in Indian textile mills and thereby close off the market for the goods they manufactured in their factories at home. Even when money was invested in India, much of it was spent in England. For instance, British investment in Indian railroads, actually was spent in the mother country.

Of the loans to Indian railways, one-third went to pay home charges in London, one-third went to pay the wages of British engineers, and one-third went to pay for the purchase of rails and engines manufactured in England and to transport them to India in British ships. The reasons why industry did not flourish in India can be inferred from the following two tables. Table #1 shows the exports of Great Britain to India. Table #2 shows the exports of India to Great Britain.

* Tables from Daniel H. Buchanan, THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST ENTERPRISE IN INDIA, (The Macmillan Company, New York: 1934) 133, 134.

The failure of the British to industrialize India to any significant extent can also be attributed to their failure to develop industries which produce capital goods. Though the British were instrumental in developing railroads, textile mills, and other assorted industries, they never established factories in India to produce the capital goods necessary for expanding these industries. All heavy machinery for the textile mills was made in England and shipped to India. Rails and engines for the railroads were also made in the mother country. One of the great spurs to industrial growth in nineteenth century Europe, the armaments industry, never developed in India since the British outlawed arms making in India in fear that the subject people would use them in a rebellion. India's flourishing shipbuilding industry of 1800 all but disappeared by 1850, as British steamships assumed the lion's share of the carrying trade.

The British also failed to develop India's ~~human~~ resources. Though the administration established an impressive educational system it was modeled after the classical system of Great Britain which was designed to produce liberally educated civil servants rather than technically trained mechanics, engineers, and managers. Nor did the Indians have much chance to earn an apprenticeship within an industry. Most skilled jobs were filled by Englishmen; for instance, English engineers sat in the cabs of most of India's railroad locomotives. The English allowed very few Indians to enter the ranks of management, and the engineering problems of industry were generally solved by men from the mother country. In the majority of cases, Indians provided the labor force for the same unskilled jobs that were taken by women and children in England. They were bobbin boys, loom tenders, and coal miners; acting as the human extension of the machines that were made in Great Britain.

In summary, there can be no doubt that England punched great holes in the traditional economy of India. The Indians could never again return to the old ways of subsistence farming and cottage craftsmanship. But if the British broke down the traditional economy, did they also establish the preconditions for take-off before they left in 1947? Did they actually catapult India into the take-off stage of economic growth? What was the impact of England on India's economy?

READING X

THE DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE

For nearly 200 years, Indians chafed under British domination. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Indian princes, whose power had been usurped by the British colonial administration, opposed their western rulers. During the nineteenth century several popular rebellions broke out against the English. In the twentieth century, the tempo of protest began to pick up. Led by Mohandas K. Ghandi and later Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian people resolutely set out to free themselves from British domination. Their efforts culminated in 1947, when England granted India independence.

The reaction of Indians to British domination is typical of twentieth century non-western countries. A new nationalism has developed in Asia and Africa which seeks to throw out the colonial rulers and establish independent governments. Many westerners cannot understand why non-western peoples wish to be free of European rule. They argue that the West has been responsible for the economic development of non-western countries, the establishment of political stability, and the introduction of western technology in the "backward areas" of the globe. They further state that the process of modernizing the non-western nations is not yet completed, and that the West should not leave until it has finished what it started.

The two selections in this reading present arguments of Mohandas Ghandi and Jawaharlal Nehru for independence. Though the two leaders were close associates in the drive for independence, each had his own vision of the past and the future. As you read these selections, therefore, consider the following questions.

1. Why does each of the two Indian leaders wish to be free of English rule? What are the differences between their views?
2. What western ideas can you identify in the writings of each man?
3. What are the implications of Ghandi's views for economic growth? What are the implications of Nehru's views for economic growth?

MOHANDAS K. GHANDI: HIND SWARAJ *

The great spiritual leader of the Indians during the struggle for independence was Mohandas K. Ghandi. His campaign for "civil disobedience" called for "soul force" to make the British leave India. Offering no resistance to violence, but refusing to obey English officials, the Indians under Ghandi demonstrated that non-violent action could force the colonial administration to give in to their demands. The following selection from Ghandi's HIND SWARAJ (Home Rule) reveals why he believed India should be free of English domination. The book takes the form of a dialogue between the author and a skeptical friend.

* From Mohandas K. Ghandi, HIND SWARAJ in Wm. Theodore de Bary, et al., SOURCES OF INDIAN TRADITION, (Columbia University Press, New York: 1958) 803-807 passim.

JAWARHALAL PANDIT NEHRU: INDIA'S PAST AND FUTURE *

If Ghandi was the spiritual leader of India, Nehru was its political leader. He became the leader of the All-India Congress in the 1930's and spurred the party to a program of complete independence. Educated in England, Nehru returned to India with a profound respect for western technology and political organization. But he found a great gap between the professed ideals of western countries and their practices. Chief among these was imperialism, which seemed to Nehru to go against all of the democratic sentiments of the British people. In the following selection, taken from his book THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA, Nehru explains what the domination of India has meant to India and what future paths India must take.

* From Jawaharlal Nehru, THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA (John Day Company, New York: 1946), 516-520, passim; 533-534.

Nehru states that India's tradition does not preclude change, and that the past must not dominate the present. India must retain pride in her past but political and economic change are necessary. However, India must not become a purely acquisitive country.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

1886 - First Nationalist Congress convened and developed plans for attaining independence.

1892 - Indians given more influence over budget in their legislative councils.

1907 - Meeting of National Congress led to a rift between extremists under Bal Gangadhar Tilak who demanded complete independence and moderates who advocated setting up an Indian Parliament within the British Empire.

1909 - The Indian Councils Act gave Indians more influence over legislation and, for the first time, gave them a voice in the executive branch of government.

1914 - 1918 - First World War. India contributes men and money to the British effort. Ghandi threw his influence on the side of the government.

1919 - The Rowlatt Acts passed in response to increasing unrest in India. These acts enabled the government to keep agitators in prison without a trial and entitled judges to try sedition cases without juries. The acts united previously divided Moslems, Sikhs, and Hindus against the British administration. Ghandi proclaimed a campaign of passive resistance and non-cooperation with the British.

1919 - Commons passed the Government of India Act which established an Indian Parliament and provided for Indian as well as British ministers in the provincial governments. Indian ministers were to have responsibility for sanitation, education, and agriculture. The Indian National Congress rejected the plan as being unsatisfactory and renewed their demand for independence.

1920 - 1921 - Ghandi led the Indian people in the first non-cooperation campaign. Millions of Hindus refused to cooperate with British officials and employers and boycotted British goods. Preaching non-violent action, Ghandi implored Indians not to riot against the British. Despite his great influence, sporadic violence broke out, reaching a peak in 1921 when uprisings took place in the Punjab region against landlords and moneylenders. Since the peasants were Moslem and the landlords Hindu, the uprising resulted in a rift between the Moslem League (a Moslem nationalist association) and the National Congress.

1922 - Ghandi, unable to stop the violence, called for an end to the non-violent campaign of civil disobedience. Despite his retreat, the British arrested him and sentenced him to six years in prison.

1923 - Moderates gained control of the National Congress and advocated using its representatives in the Indian Parliament to obstruct the British administration and thereby force England to grant home rule. Congress representatives, however, did not follow through in the Parliament, and began cooperating with the government.

1928 - Jawaharlal Nehru forms the Independence of India League to press for independence. At the All Parties Conference of 1928 Ghandi again given leadership and promised another non-violent campaign if the British government did not grant India dominion status, such as Canada had, in one year.

1930 - Ghandi initiated second non-violent civil disobedience campaign. He led millions of Indians on a march to the sea to make salt. (Under British law it was illegal for Indians to make their own salt. It had to be purchased from the British company.) The March to the Sea was the most impressive demonstration of non-violent techniques. British soldiers abused the Indians, yet they did not retaliate with force of any kind.

1931 - First round table conference on India held, attended by Indian princes and liberals who were willing to cooperate with the government. National Congress boycotted the conference.

1932 - Ghandi, who had been arrested in 1930, was released from jail and was persuaded to go to England to discuss the future of India with the British government. He agreed to end the civil disobedience campaign and recognize the round table conferences in return for the government's guarantee to release all political prisoners who had been involved in the non-violence campaign. Ghandi attended the second round table conference in London, but it broke up without reaching agreement on the key issue of how religious and other minorities were to be represented in the Indian government.

1932 - Ghandi again imprisoned with other National Congress leaders and the National Congress was declared illegal. Ghandi began a "fast until death" in behalf of the untouchables, for whom he demanded a vote in the forthcoming Indian elections.

1933 - Ghandi, out of prison, persuaded the All-India Congress, which met at Poona, to resume the civil disobedience campaign. Ghandi once again arrested, but was released after a few days because of poor health after a hunger strike.

1935 - The Government of India Act passed by British Parliament. India was divided into 11 provinces, each under a governor and executive council appointed by the British. Each province had an elected legislature. A central legislature was also provided, but the British governor general still retained most of the power.

1937 - Elections to the provincial assemblies brought an overwhelming majority for the All-India Congress, chiefly a Hindu party, which was pledged to repeal the new constitution. At the party Congress, however, the moderates, who favored cooperation with the government, won out over the extremists, led by Nehru, who advocated independence and a socialist program. Moderates, however, demanded that provincial governors (appointed by the British) would not interfere in their program. The All-India Congress governments were able to pass much reform legislation, especially land and agrarian reforms.

1938 - 1939 - Radicals briefly in power in All-India Congress, but Ghandi's prestige helped defeat their proposal to send England an ultimatum demanding independence.

1939 - 1945 - Second World War. Independence movement temporarily discontinued.

1945 - New British Labor government proposed to discuss autonomy with Indian representatives, but Ghandi and Nehru persuaded the All-India Congress to reject the proposal and demand that the English get out of India. Elections to the Central Legislature gave the largest number of seats to the Congress Party and to the Moslem League, under Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

1946 - Hindu-Moslem differences over how India would be governed after independence (which they both advocated) led to riots causing thousands of deaths. The British government offered full independence to India, but the negotiations between Indian leaders and the British government failed to reconcile the differences between the Hindus and Moslems.

1947 - Following negotiations between Moslem and Hindu leaders, the British government announced a new constitutional plan which called for partition of India and Pakistan. The Indian Independence Bill was passed by the British Parliament on July 18. After Independence went into effect on August 15, the process of partition was accompanied by terrible acts of violence between Moslems and Hindus. By the end of September, close to two million people had moved from Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan.

THE PROCESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Stating the Issue

Industrialism is the hallmark of the modern world. Today no country without an industrial base can count for much in world affairs. In addition to prestige, industrialism brings with it a higher standard of living, military might, better education, improved health and a host of other benefits. Hence, the entire world is caught up in a breakneck race to industrialize.

The rapid growh of industry took place first in England in the late eighteenth century. A peculiar combination of political, social, and economic conditions made it possible for the growth of a single industry, the cotton textile industry, to spur an economic take-off. But the same set of conditions has not existed in any other country that has undergone industrialization. The United States, closest to England in duplicating the conditions that provided for an economic take-off, had to follow a different path to industrialization. In the Soviet Union, a totalitarian elite had to overcome the weight of centuries of traditions to modernize the economy. The process of industrialization has been different in Great Britain, the United States and Russia.

It was and still is different again in India. Indian society was even more different from England's than Russia's had been. Subsistence farmers made up a larger proportion of her population; the pressure of population on limited resources was infinitely greater; the fact that India was a colony of Great Britain added another significant difference. There were many others. Given this different social setting, it is obvious that the process of industrialization would vary both from that of England and that of Russia.

The final six readings in this unit provide material with which to analyze the process of industrialism in contemporary India. Whether or not India can industrialize is a vital matter to the free world. If she can do so successfully, she will give the lie to the communists who claim that underdeveloped countries can only progress economically through using command techniques in a totalitarian government. If she fails, much of the underdeveloped world may follow her into the communist camp.

Whether or not she succeeds depends largely upon whether men reared in traditional society can adjust themselves to a technology and an accompanying way of life diffused into India from the West. Can India find the means to import and to develop machinery fast enough to industrialize? Can her teeming millions adjust to the new way of life? Can her industrial and agricultural productivity surpass the rate of growth of her population? Can she industrialize and still remain free? These are the issues with which we will be concerned in readings eleven through sixteen.

READING XI

ELITES AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: AN APPROACH TO ANALYSIS

Nations do not become industrialized automatically. The process of industrialization depends upon the energy, ingenuity, and persistence of a very few men who shake the society out of its traditional ways. Even in nations where the drive to industrialize appears to have taken place unconsciously, as in Great Britain or the United States, a small elite led the way. Had it not been for the alliance of middle class entrepreneurs and landed aristocrats in England or the American industrial giants like Carnegie, Rockefeller and their financier allies like J. P. Morgan, the English speaking peoples might still earn their livelihood on subsistence farms.

Four noted economists, Clark Kerr, John T. Dunlop, Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers, have attempted to analyze the functions of various elites who have carried out the industrialization process in various nations. In their book, INDUSTRIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL MAN, they have identified five "model" elites who have assumed the burden of industrializing their countries. The authors make no claim that their model elites have ever existed in the pure form in which they describe them, but their model does provide us with a tool for analyzing industrialization in various nations around the world. Starting from the model, the investigator interested in analyzing the methods and purposes of industrializing India, can develop a set of analytical questions which he can then apply to the data he encounters.

Reading XI is a summary of the Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers elite theory. Using this theory the student should be able to develop a series of analytical questions which he can ask of the remaining readings in this unit. As you study this theory, therefore, consider the following questions.

1. Assume you were given the assignment to interview one of India's chief economic ministers. On the basis of the charts in this reading, what questions would you ask him in order to determine how India is going about industrializing her country. What questions would you ask him about how he must change Indian culture to industrialize? (Come to class with several questions written out.)

2. Would you be satisfied with the economic minister's answers to your questions? If you wished to have other answers, where would you look for evidence? Which of your questions would the minister be most capable of answering?

3. Why do you think different types of elites have industrialized different nations?

THE INDUSTRIALIZING ELITES *

In the past two hundred fifty years, five types of industrializing elites have led the way to the modernization of a nation's economy. They are:

1. The dynastic elite: The members of a dynastic elite are originally drawn from a landed or commercial aristocracy sometimes with allies from among military, religious or governmental groups. Trying to save their own position at the top of the social structure, the dynastic elite disrupts the traditional society as little as possible as it pushes the process of industrialism. Its members try to save the essence of the past and graft onto it the elements essential to a modern society. The best historical example of the dynastic elite is the group of leaders who industrialized Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

2. The middle class: The middle class elite is made up of a new group rising in opposition to an old elite but able to live with it. England represents the classic example. Middle class elites are likely to come from already existing commercial and artisan groups. Rather than make a frontal assault on the position of the old privileged classes, they attack piecemeal and make gains slowly. Since the societies in which the middle class has lead the movement toward industrialization are mobile, the new classes climb the social ladder and eventually reach the top. In this case industrialism has provided ways to change an entire social structure.

3. The revolutionary intellectuals: In countries like the Soviet Union or Communist China, revolutionary intellectuals seize control of the political machinery and depose the established rulers of the land. They then use the state to speed the process of industrialism, sweeping away as quickly as possible the old elite and the old culture and establishing new ones.

4. The colonial administrator: The colonial elite has introduced industrialism into much of the underdeveloped world supplying capital, techniques and leadership. His role, however, is a transitional one, for sooner or later he is driven out to be replaced by natives. Usually the colonial elite begins industrialization to benefit the home country by developing raw materials or producing something which cannot be made at home. As an alien, the colonial administrator usually cannot survive permanently and is anxious to preserve the culture he finds in a land so that the native leaders will support him. The English in India are a typical example.

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* The charts used in this reading are based on charts found in Clark Kerr, John T. Dunlop, Frederick Harbison and Charles E. Myers, INDUSTRIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL MAN, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.: 1960), pp. 50-51, 80-81, 106-107.

5. The nationalist elite. The nationalist leader is difficult to define because his type varies so much. There is no single nationalist type. But a nationalist revolt usually does raise up a small group of national heroes who can lead the march to industrialism. Moreover the mass of people expect great changes to be made when freedom is attained and these expectations are characteristic of industrial developments led by nationalist elites. Finally, nationalist leaders usually use the state as an instrument of industrial development. For this reason a mix of private enterprise and socialist ownership is common in these states. India's present leaders can be considered a nationalist elite.

Chart #1

The Industrializing Elites and Their Strategies

Strategic Concepts	Dynastic	Middle Class	Revolutionary Intellectuals	Colonial Administrators	Nationalist Leaders
Basic goal of the elite	Preserve most characteristics of the traditional society. Industrialization to protect nation.	Individual self-advancement	Promote the ideology of the revolution.	Service the "mother" country.	Bring about national independence and progress.
Basic characteristic of the economy	Paternalistic, or aristocratic command	Open market	Centralized command	Alien command; economy controlled and regulated by mother country	State "guided" development. Mixture of market and command.
Basic rule-making authority in labor-management relations	Employer and state	Employer, labor union, state	State	Colonial administrator and employer	Largely state
Policy on the pace of industrialization	No faster than necessary to preserve the traditional social structure and values. Military needs may dictate faster pace.	Determined largely by individual's predicted prospects for private gain.	Determined by central authority. The fastest possible pace.	Determined by what advantage mother country sees. Irregular pace.	Determined by state's aspirations, which are high, but rate is irregular due to economic problems and traditional values.
Sources of funds	Grants from the aristocracy. Rents from farms influence ability of aristocracy to make grants.	Investments from private savings. Bank credit and international capital market important factors in determining investment.	From tax revenues. Forced restriction on consumption to return capital income for capital formation.	From budget of the mother country and investors in mother country	Elite seeks large sums from developed nations to supplement private savings and funds secured from taxation.

Chart #1 (continued)

Strategic Concepts	Dynastic	Middle Class	Revolutionary Intellectuals	Colonial Administrators	Nationalist Leaders
Priorities of Development	Preserve and protect agriculture; much effort turned to public works, military, and paternalistic projects, including housing.	Priorities determined by market conditions. What is produced is determined largely by consumer wants. Agriculture not emphasized.	Agriculture compressed by draining off of manpower to industry and prevention of individual agricultural enterprise. Priority assigned to capital goods (basic industry) with a vengeance. Consumer goods and housing not emphasized.	Emphasis on production of raw materials--increased agriculture. Some industries which supply materials and consumption goods to mother country.	Expands on previous industrial base of colonial administrator. Emphasis on upgrading agriculture in "poor food growing nations" Attempt to develop broad based industry producing capital and consumer goods. Much emphasis on electric power and other sources of energy.
Educational Policy	Aimed at preserving traditional values. Higher education limited to members of elite. Universities have little role in industrialization; workers have only elementary schooling.	Educational system seen as a major instrument in individual self-advancement. Mass public elementary and secondary schools. Vocational and liberal education combined.	Education designed to promote the revolutionists' ideology. High priority given to science and specialized fields. Workers receive specialized vocational training.	Educational system adapted from mother country. Higher education limited to few natives. Generally not related to industrialization.	Faces dilemma of providing general education to provide literate masses and higher education to train managerial and technical manpower.
Population Policy	A variety of policies which indirectly tend to produce growth. No encouragement to immigration.	Population largely depends upon market conditions, in particular income. Some public policies to promote health encourages growth. Permits immigration.	Establishes policies which are designed to keep population from growing in response to industrialization, except in Soviet Union where population growth is encouraged.	No concern over population if the labor supply is adequate. Otherwise recruits labor from abroad.	Conflict between establishing means to decrease the death rate and establishing means to prevent population increase from outstripping advances in the economy.

Chart #2

Industrializing Elites and Cultural Factors

Pre-existing cultural traits	Dynastic	Middle Class	Revolutionary Intellectuals	Colonial Administrators	Nationalist Leaders
The family system.	Preserves joint family.	Weakens extended family, encourages nuclear family.	Attempts to destroy traditional family loyalty and responsibility.	Little change and little attempt at change. Might break up some extended families in recruiting labor.	Modifies extended family toward nuclear family.
Class and Race.	Preserves existing structure.	Modifies; develops fluid class structure allowing upward mobility as measure of individual self-advancement.	Destroys old class structure and substitutes new elite class.	Grafts a new superior class upon old social structure. Does not change existing structure to a great degree.	Modifies existing structure toward greater fluidity. Elite class is drawn from elite cultivated by colonial administrators.
Religious and Ethical Values.	Tends to preserve.	Modifies and builds on existing values. Some traditional values which interfere with self-advancement broken down.	Attempts to destroy old value system completely. Substitutes new values based upon ideology.	Two cultures slowly adapt to each other's values. Host culture undergoes most change.	Modifies existing values and breaks them down when they interfere with national unity and industrialization. Tries to retain essence of traditional values.
Concept of Nation-state.	Great emphasis.	Moderate emphasis.	Great emphasis. Attempts to link ideology and nation. Tries to break down provincial and family loyalties.	Little emphasis, though administrators indirectly help develop sense of nationalism by establishing nation-wide government.	Great emphasis. Attempts to break down provincial, family and class loyalties, and substitute national loyalty instead.

READING XII

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

India's industrialization began under the aegis of British colonial leaders. After World War II, Indian nationalists took over. They were devoted to the principle of national independence and progress for which they had struggled so long. Convinced that India must follow the path of the West toward a democratic political system, the nationalist leaders nevertheless realized that a marked degree of centralized economic planning was indispensable to progress. The attempt to blend democracy and rapid economic growth has focused the attention of the free world on the Indian experiment.

From the day of its independence the government of India placed economic planning in the forefront of its attention. Rooted in a traditional society and lacking many of the prerequisites of economic growth, India was forced to shepherd her resources of men, capital and equipment carefully if it wished to make the leap into the modern technological age. From the beginning it was clear that only a substantial amount of government planning could assure attention to the major demands of economic growth. The five year plans grew out of this conviction.

The Indians claim that they have a socialist economy and they use this word freely in the government report you are about to read. You must watch their use of the word carefully. They do not mean by socialism what Marx mean by the word or what contemporary Communists mean by it. The Indians still permit, in fact they encourage, a substantial amount of ownership of the means of production by private individuals. There is general, overall control of investment by the government and a firm attempt is made to be sure that investment flows into channels which the government thinks are socially desirable, but the private sector of the economy still plays a vital role.

As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What are the major objectives of the Government of India Planning Commission? Why these rather than others?
2. What value assumptions underlie India's third five-year plan?
3. Why would nationalist leaders embrace planning as a device to speed industrialization?
4. To what degree are the objectives and methods of the Indian planners conditioned by traditional Indian society? How may traditional society interfere with the development of the plan?

THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN *

When Independence came, India had a slender industrial base. Millions of her rural people suffered under the weight of a traditional agrarian structure. A long period of economic stagnation, against the background of increasing pressure of population, followed by the burdens of the Second World War, had weakened the Indian economy. There was widespread poverty and want. The partition of the country had uprooted millions of people and dislocated economic life. Productivity in agriculture and industry stood at a low level. In relation to needs the available domestic savings were altogether meagre. The promise of freedom could only be redeemed if the economic foundations were greatly strengthened. The Constitution established equal rights of citizenship, and these had now to be expressed through rising levels of living and greater opportunities for the bulk of the people. It was essential to rebuild the rural economy, to lay the foundation of industrial and scientific progress, and to expand education and other social services. These called for planning on a national scale, encompassing all aspects of economic and social life, for efforts to mobilise resources, to determine priorities and goals and to create a widespread outlook of change and technological progress. Thus, planned development was the means for securing with the utmost speed possible, a high rate of growth, reconstructing the institutions of economic and social life and harnessing the energies of the people to the tasks of national development.

The leading features of the pattern of development envisaged in the Five Year Plans may be briefly stated. The basic objective is to provide sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions for the masses. In the scheme of development, the first priority necessarily belongs to agriculture; and agricultural production has to be increased to the highest levels feasible. The Five Year Plans provide for a comprehensive and many-sided effort to transform the peasant's outlook and environment. The growth of agriculture and the development of human resources alike hinge upon the advance made by industry. Not only does industry provide the new tools, but it begins to change the mental outlook of the peasant. There can be no doubt that vast numbers of the peasantry today in India are undergoing this change of outlook as they use new tools and experiment with new methods of agriculture. Even the coming of the bicycle in large numbers to the villages of India is not only a sign of higher standards, but is a symbol of new and changing attitudes. Agriculture and industry must be regarded as integral parts of the same process of development. Through planned development, therefore, the growth of industry has to be speeded and economic progress accelerated. In particular, heavy industries and machine-making industries have to be developed, the public sector expanded and a large and growing cooperative sector built up. ...

With the rapid expansion of the economy, wider opportunities of growth arise for both the public and the private sectors and in many ways their activities are complementary. The private sector includes not only organized industry but

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* Excerpted from THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN, Government of India Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1961, pages 6-13, passim.

agriculture, small industry, trade and a great deal of activity in housing and construction and other fields. Progressively, it has to take the form of cooperative effort. Among the main objects of programmes undertaken by the Government are the expansion of facilities for the development of agriculture, specially irrigation, the building up of economic overheads such as rail and road transport, ports and power stations, and the expansion of education, health and other social services. Activities which are promoted through these facilities are in considerable part in the hands of private individuals and organisations, and increasing numbers among them are being assisted. Thus, the Five Year Plans enlarge the scope for individual initiative as well as for cooperative and corporate effort. It is mainly within a limited area in the field of large-scale industrial enterprise that the question arises whether, in the special circumstances of the country, in accordance with the Industrial Policy Resolution of April, 1956, and in view of the social goals aimed at, particular tasks should be assigned to the public sector or to the private sector. In the context of the country's planned development the private sector has a large area in which to develop and expand. It has to function, of course, within the framework of national planning and in harmony with its overall aims, and there must be continuous stress on undertakings in the private sector acting with an understanding of obligations towards the community as a whole. At the same time, it is essential to ensure that the opportunities available in the private sector do not lead to the concentration of economic power in the hands of small numbers of individuals and businesses and that disparities in income and wealth are progressively reduced. ...

Development plans reflect the changes which are taking place in the country's economic and social structure as well as the directions in which this structure has to be reorganized and strengthened. In a democracy the pace of change depends to a large extent on increase in public understanding and in public response and on the growth of a scientific outlook on the part of large numbers of people. Besides the economic and social objectives, the educational aspects of planning are, therefore, of great importance. These are emphasised through the wide sharing of responsibility for drawing up and carrying out Plans and through the participation in the process of planning by organisations representing all sections of opinion as well as universities and educational institutions and voluntary social service agencies. On behalf of the community as a whole the State has a large responsibility for assessing the wider long-term needs of the nation as against the claims of individual, sectional or regional interests, and in setting the goals to be achieved. ...

In advanced countries the development of education and other social services has played a large part in ensuring greater equality of opportunity to different sections of the population and greater social mobility. Social services have also helped to bring about a measure of redistribution of income and provide the basic necessities. In India too, the expansion of social services will exert a similar influence, specially through the extension of free and universal education at the primary level, provision of larger opportunities for vocational and higher education, grants of scholarships and other forms of aid, and improvement in conditions of health, sanitation, water supply and housing. Thus, programmes for the welfare of scheduled tribes and castes and other backward classes, for the provision of minimum amenities in rural areas, for local development at the village level and for the housing of industrial workers and slum clearance and improvement, are to be viewed not merely as extensions of social services but as vital ingredients in the scheme of economic development. These and other social benefits have to be provided to a greater extent in the Third and subsequent Five Year Plans than has been possible over the past decade. They will call for larger resources, not only from the State, but also from within each community, and for the participation of a growing number of voluntary workers. ...

A large segment of India's development plans reaches the mass of the people through community development. In promoting the growth of socialism at the level of the community amongst the rural people, therefore, the role assigned in the Five Year Plans to the community development movement should be specially stressed. Community development must seek, above all, to bring about increase in agricultural production, higher standards of productivity, and fuller utilisation of the available manpower and other resources. With its stress on the development of local initiative and responsibility and on cooperative self-help, the movement is designed to serve as a spearhead of a wide range of programmes of development, which include agriculture, cooperation, irrigation, village and small industries, rural electrification and the reform of the agrarian system. One of its major aims is to create conditions for the growth of a progressive cooperative rural economy with a diversified occupational structure in which the weaker sections of the community are brought speedily to the level of the rest. The development of a cooperative agro-industrial economy in rural areas is essential for ensuring that the benefits of industrialisation spread out evenly among different sections of the population and to different areas and for securing a large measure of integration between rural and industrial development in each region. ...

In the villages the task of building up socialism at the base is facilitated as the policies of land reform and cooperative development are implemented. ...In the towns and cities also there is equal need for appropriate social policies. The influx of population into urban areas leads not only to a worsening of living conditions for large sections of the population but also, through rise in the values of land and property, to the creation of new disparities. These developments demand a variety of measures, including careful planning of the use of land, large scale programmes for land acquisition, housing and land allotment policies designed to assist the lower income groups and the poorer sections of the population, adequate taxation of capital gains and urban properties, avoidance of conspicuous and wasteful forms of construction, and public vigilance over conditions of tenancy and rents. ...

Before the process of economic development gathers momentum, for the larger part inequalities arise from long-established features of a traditional society, such as feudal rights and tenures, or privileges and handicaps associated with the social structure. These vestiges of the past are the first to fall. Planned development has to hasten this process so as to enable the economy to move forward with less hindrance from within. Thus, the programme of land reform, with its stress on the abolition of intermediary rights, security and rent reduction for tenants and enforcement of ceilings on agricultural holdings, was calculated to release the productive forces of the rural economy. ...

With rapid development and expansion of employment, the incomes of the vast majority of workers in industry and services and of self-employed workers like farmers and skilled artisans may be expected to increase steadily and, on the whole, in fair relationship to productivity. Those receiving fixed incomes, falling broadly in the lower middle-class groups, inevitably face special problems on account of the long-term tendency towards rise in prices. On the other hand, in these groups, through women entering employment in larger numbers and the growth of employment, there are also wider openings for augmenting the family income. For this group, equally with those in the lowest income groups, it is important that the prices of essential commodities should be kept down and social services, especially education, health and housing, should be brought within easy reach. At the other end of the scale, the greatest attention must be given to those who are totally unemployed or suffer from serious under-employment. The provision of employment opportunities has the foremost priority for them. Along with employment, education and social service benefits should also be extended as fully as possible.

The socialist pattern of society provides a major line of advance in a developing economy, which is becoming increasingly complex, and in which there is constant interplay of a variety of social, economic and other elements. Its realisation is necessarily a cumulative process resulting from progress along many different paths. For several reasons, in reaching this goal there is need now for a sense of urgency and a quickening of pace. It is true that the economic foundations must be well laid if the social objectives are to be attained. At the same time, any marked lag between economic and social development creates new stresses. Precise data are at present lacking, and without these it is difficult to devise definite measures. Accordingly, an expert committee set up by the Planning Commission in October, 1960, is at present engaged in reviewing changes in the levels of living which have occurred in the course of the First and Second Plans, in studying recent trends in the distribution of income and wealth and, in particular, in ascertaining the extent to which the operation of the economic system may have resulted in concentration of wealth and means of production.

Progress along each separate course has its own limitations. Sometimes, there may be conflicts between different objectives and the means available for achieving them, and these have to be reconciled. Although many gaps remain, step by step within the scheme of planned development, the framework of socialism is being built up, but it has to be strengthened and made more purposeful in its actual working. There must be fuller and more determined implementation of accepted policies and programmes in all spheres of public administration and of economic life and more critical tests of evaluation should be adopted. Moreover, at all times there should be due stress on the moral, human and spiritual values which give meaning to willingness to bear the burdens of development and a greater understanding by different sections of the community of what is due from them at the present juncture, both economic and social advance can be far more rapid than is generally realised. Policies already initiated will go a long way to stimulate social mobility, strengthen such forces as the trade unions, the cooperative movement, voluntary organisations and the universities, and to create a broad-based constructive leadership in rural and urban communities. They will help to check concentration of economic power and the growth of monopoly, strengthen the bonds of cultural and economic integration, and assure to every citizen of India the right to work, to equal opportunity, and to a minimum level of living. In the last analysis economic development is but a means to an end -- the building up, through effort and sacrifice widely shared, of a society, without caste, class or privilege, which offers to every section of the community and to all parts of the country the fullest opportunity to grow and to contribute to the national well-being.

READING XIII

CHANGE IN THE INDIAN VILLAGE

The village is still the heart of India. Eighty per cent of her people live in the thousands of villages that crowd the Indian landscape. As her population increases apace, India must increase the production of food in the villages or her people will eventually face starvation. Moreover, productivity per man on the farms must go up in order to feed the millions of new workers which India hopes will soon man her growing factories. Unless the villages change, India's hopes for industrialization and economic progress will never be fulfilled.

But change comes hard. Indian villagers are wedded to traditional ways which are hard to change from outside. Obsolete equipment, poor techniques, and ingrained habits of mind must all be replaced if the villages are to shake themselves from their lethargy. Moreover, they must be changed by persuasion since the Indian economic planners are devoted to democratic methods rather than to the use of force. For this reason, India's leaders must work through people who understand the traditional society and through institutions which the villagers accept and trust.

Reading XIII consists of two parts. The first describes the economic development of one village through the eyes of its inhabitants. Much of the process of development and many of the problems turn up. The second part contrasts the development of villages in India with rural development schemes in other parts of the world. It makes some of the principles of Indian planning clear by comparing them with work in other countries. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How do Indian economic planners bring about change in the village? What evidence is there that they have been successful?
2. What obstacles does traditional village society place in the way of economic development?
3. To what degree are the tactics of the village planners like those defined in the "model elite" developed by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers? To what degree are they consistent with the aims of the Five Year Plan?
4. Do you think the pace of change in the village is too fast? Do you think it is too slow? What evidence do you offer for your conclusion?

CHIKKLI: A CASE STUDY IN VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT *

* Excerpted from S. N. Battacharyya, VILLAGE ON THE MARCH, (Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi: 1959).

This case study describes the way in which an Indian government official assigned to a village persuaded a villager to experiment with new agricultural techniques and discusses the role of the village council in economic development.

HOW SUCCESSFUL IS THE PROGRAM *

* Excerpted from Carl Cleveland Taylor, "Awakening Villages," AMERICAS, Volume 9 (October, 1957), pp. 3-7.

This article argues that India's Community Development Program is among the best in any developing country because it relies on the village people who know the culture to provide leadership.

READING XIV

DEVELOPING INDIAN INDUSTRY

In order for an economy to grow, both the total output and the output per capita in the society must increase. Production may be increased in only three ways. First, a larger percentage of the population can be put to work. Second, those who are already working can work longer hours with the same tools. Finally--and by far the most practical--better tools and techniques can be employed to raise productivity. But the use of better tools and techniques implies the development of capital and human resources. If India is to develop these two vital resources, somehow she must find ways to increase the number and quality of machines and factories and she must find ways to step up the training of managers, engineers, technicians, and laborers.

Generally speaking, a nation can obtain more machines and factories in two ways. First, the citizens of the nation can consume less of what they produce and use the remaining goods and services to build additional plants and equipment. Because the standard of living is already so low in India, the leaders are very reluctant to cut back on consumption in order to produce capital. India must rely heavily on the second source of capital--borrowing capital from other countries or persuading foreign capitalists to build plants in India. But the amount of cash they can borrow is limited, and private capitalists hesitate to invest in a developing and unstable nation.

Human resources can also be increased in two ways. A few specialists can be recruited from abroad to set up an industry and train the native citizenry. However, most of the labor force must be trained at home in agencies run by the native population. India has invested heavily in schools and colleges to meet the demand for trained people. But such heavy investment drains off cash for capital formation, and still India faces great difficulties in training enough people.

Reading XIV chronicles some of the efforts India has made to increase her capital and human resources in light and heavy industry. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How has India gone about improving her human resources in small scale and heavy industry? How has India gone about increasing her capital resources?
2. In what ways does traditional Indian society handicap the development of human and capital resources? How has India tried to overcome these handicaps?
3. How are the techniques for improving capital and human resources in India related to the "model" strategies suggested by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers?
4. What does the evidence in this reading indicate about the success India has had in improving her capital and human resources in industry? Can you think of alternative plans for speeding industrial growth?

INDUSTRY IN A DEVELOPING NATION *

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* From ROOTS OF CHANGE (pamphlet) (Ford Foundation, New York: 1961), 26-37.

The article describes the development of both light and heavy industry in India since the nation won her freedom. Among other issues discussed are the training of workers, the use of foreigners as advisers, the sources of capital, and the ways in which industries are organized in both the private and the public sectors.

READING XV

CASTE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

When industrialization is diffused into a traditional society, deep-seated customs must often give way. The rules which have governed the relationships of man for centuries cannot be observed when men are forced to associate in entirely different situations. Indeed a new economic system may demand a radical change in the entire value system of a people. In India, for example, the traditional Hindu emphasis upon other-worldliness seems out of place in a modern enterprise economy. It has slowly been giving way before the demands of the planners and the new life they represent.

So have many Indian institutions. As men move from village to factory, they often lose some contact with their extended families and concentrate their attention on the smaller nuclear family--wife and children--which has accompanied them to the city. Similarly the basis of status has changed. Status was once associated with ownership of land and membership in a certain caste. In the city it often results from better education, new skills and a higher income. Society becomes more mobile as status is earned rather than inherited.

The institution of caste seems more out-of-place in a modern world than any other aspect of Indian society. Caste presents particularly difficult problems to employers in a factory. If only men who worked leather in the village will take jobs as shoemakers in a factory, then the potential pool of labor is much diminished. If strict caste regulations are observed, a modern factory cannot operate since men of different castes are required for different jobs but cannot work in the same área without polluting each other. As industrialization takes hold, the grip of caste must loosen.

Reading XV is a study of the role of caste in an Indian industrial city, Kanpur. The author raises a number of issues about the problems of transforming a traditional society into a modern one and indicates some ways in which this transformation has taken place in Kanpur. As you read, think about the following questions.

1. Why does an institution like caste make the process of industrialization more difficult? What specific problems stem from caste?
2. What is the relationship between caste and the positions which members of different castes have taken in the factory?
3. How has industrialization affected Indian social structure? How has the social structure influenced the process of industrialization?

CASTE IN KANPUR *

* Arthur Niehoff, "Caste and Industrial Organization in North India," ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY, Vol. 3, March 1959, 494-508 passim.

This article describes the effect of the caste system on work patterns in Kanpur and discusses the ways in which industry helps to break down caste barriers.

READING XVI

WHERE IS INDIA GOING?

No one yet knows whether India will be able to solve her pressing problems and still maintain a democratic way of life. The inexorable pressure of increasing population, the whims of the monsoon, the restraints of a traditional society and the drastic scarcity of capital and trained manpower all handicap her. Some of her best laid plans have failed to mature. Yet recent figures seem to indicate that she is still making progress and that she would make it much more rapidly if she could control the rate of population growth.

Some authorities do not believe that a free nation can pass from a traditional society to the modern industrial world in only a few decades without using force. This is the road which both the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese have followed. They have conscripted labor, uprooted peasants from their farmlands, restricted the output of consumer goods and forged steadily ahead without thought of human cost. But in recent years, the pace of growth in both the Soviet Union and China has slowed down while India has picked up speed slightly. Which way will bring industrialization the faster--persuasion or force--remains to be seen.

Reading XVI summarizes economic development in India through the second five year plan. It also assesses the problems which India faces. You may wish to review Reading I which contains additional information about the present state of the economy. Your teacher may also assign articles from current periodicals to supplement the information given here and to bring it up to date. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. **How successful have the plans for economic development in India been?**
2. **What have been the major obstacles in the path of the five year plans?**
3. **Why has India made less total progress in growth than China?**
4. **On the basis of the evidence in this unit, what do you think is going to happen in India?**

AN ASSESSMENT OF INDIAN ECONOMIC PLANNING *

*** Clair Wilcox, Willis Weatherford and Holland Hunter, ECONOMIES OF THE WORLD TODAY, (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), pp. 107-114, 122-125, passim.**

This article assesses the success of India's drive for economic development. The authors also compare growth patterns in India and China and raise questions about whether a democratic country which is underdeveloped can grow as rapidly as one where central authorities have greater control over all sectors of the economy.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

Subject Objective: to know:
that India's fundamental economic problem is to develop her human and capital resources for economic growth while at the same time meeting the basic needs of a rapidly expanding population.

Cognitive Objectives:
4:10 Analysis of the elements limiting economic growth in India.
6:10 Evaluation of the state of Indian economy in terms of relative development of resources.

Materials: Reading I
Handout analysis sheet

What is India's fundamental economic problem according to this article?	Ask the students what India's fundamental economic problem is. Their answers may center on specific instances, or problems (e.g. mass poverty, little industry, backward agriculture). The teacher should guide the discussion toward the more general problem of economic growth. The students should finally realize that India's basic problem is to develop her economy to the extent that she need no longer rely on foreign capital to continue economic growth --that is, that she reach the take-off stage of economic development. The teacher may want to remind the students about England's take-off as a clue to what India's problem is.
If India's fundamental problem is developing her economy, what resources does she need?	Ask the students what resources any country in general, and India in particular, need to develop industry. They should realize, with some prodding, that human, natural, and capital resources are needed; specifically: 1) Human - The personnel to operate the industries and farms. An industrial economy needs to have human resources with highly developed skills in [illegible] and management. The human resources must be mobile - they must be able to move from place to place with the opportunity of making their [illegible] an incentive. 2) Natural - Raw materials to be used in industry and made into finished products (and land to be [illegible] or tilled). These also include power sources. 3) Capital - The plant [illegible] to produce goods either on farms or in the factory. Also the money invested in buying the plant and machinery.

Let's see which of these resources India needs which it doesn't have. Fill in this chart with data from the article. Include specific instances of resources India has and specific instances mentioned in the article of resources that are underdeveloped or are needed.	Have the students fill in the handout chart with data taken from the article. Give them time to fill in the chart, then call upon several students to tell what is on their charts. Have the other students copy onto their charts the aspects brought out in class discussion but which they did not list.
Of the three resources, which does India seem to lack the most?	Ask the students which resources India does not have. The students should indicate from their work on the chart that India lacks human and capital resources the most.
Why do you suppose India does not have these resources in enough quantity to produce economic growth?	Ask the students why they think India does not have these resources. The teacher should allow the students to hypothesize until the end of class without discouraging or encouraging any of the student's hypotheses, but continually reminding them that the student's ideas are only hypotheses.

INDIA **Handout, Reading I**

INDIAN RESOURCES

TYPE	RESOURCES INDIA HAS	RESOURCES INDIA NEEDS
Human		
Natural		
Capital		

Subject Objectives: to know:
how religion affects human behavior in India, and in particular what values it sets up as models of behavior.
how the Indian religion affects the development of human and capital resources.

Cognitive Objectives:
4.20 *Analysis* of the relationships between Hinduism and family, caste and customs.
2.30 *Extrapolation* of the implications of the religion for the development of human and capital resources.

Materials: Reading II

WRITING EXERCISE: Have the students finish the following sentence: "A good Indian should ..."	Designed to have students analyze the behavior that is expected of Indians. In short, they should analyze the reading on religion to ferret out the values the religion promotes. After the students have had some time to write their answer, the teacher should call on several students to tell their answers to the class. Their answers should include: The good Indian should do his duty (dharma), tolerate other's beliefs, protect animals, accept the inevitable, follow religious leaders without question, meditate upon his relationship to the universe.
What religious beliefs encourage these values?	Student should see the justification of these practices and values in the particular religious beliefs--e.g., the belief in transmigration of souls, the idea of Karma, the belief in spirits to be feared, the concept of Brahma and spiritual release.
What effect will the religion have on the development of the Indian economy?	This question is purposely vaguely worded so that the students will have to apply the ideas of human and capital resources to the problem. The teacher should see that they relate religion and the development of human and capital resources. The students should see that religion does not encourage the development of better production techniques or the incentive of self-advancement. On the other hand, Hinduism does provide for tolerance of new ideas, and hence it might be easier to introduce new techniques into the society.

CASTE

Subject Objectives: to know:

that caste duties regulate every aspect of the Indian's life.

that caste has created a barrier to the development and mobility of human resources in India.

Cognitive Objectives:

4:20 Analysis of the relationships between caste organization and economic life in India.

2:30 Extrapolation of the implications of the caste system for economic development.

Materials: Reading III
Handout: Caste regulations for Castes 1, 2 and 3.

If you were an Indian, how would you know what caste you were in? How would you know what your caste duties were?	Question designed to bring out the idea that caste is determined by birth. The students should answer that they would know from their parentage. Second question designed to bring out point that caste duties are taught children by their parents and must necessarily consume a great portion of a child's education.
How would your caste affiliation affect your life?	Question designed to bring out idea that caste affects everything in a man's life, from what he eats and wears to whom he marries and what jobs he shall take. The students should bring out specific examples of how caste affects daily living.
Do you see any advantage in the caste system? Do you think Indians do?	Students will probably not see advantages. Teacher should remind them that they are viewing caste from the western frame of reference, and should encourage students to look at caste from an Indian frame of reference. Students might indicate that Indians see this as a way of resolving the problem that is of greatest concern to them – that of interpersonal relationships. Further it tends to make life regulated so that the Indian knows who he is and what he is supposed to do.
ROLE PLAYING: The students are given caste duties and then are asked to advise the teacher about setting up a factory.	Pass out the caste duties to the students. There are 3 different castes and the class should be divided into 3 groups, each group receiving the regulations for one caste. Tell the students that they are members of the caste and believe that they should follow the dharma or rules laid down for their caste. Tell them that you are an American industrialist, come to advise this village about establishing a factory there. Tell the students that you want to find out about

local customs before you proceed further. Then ask them to respond to the questions below.

a) What kind of industry would you want set up?
b) What kind of skills are available in the town?
c) What kind of food should the cafeteria serve?
d) What kind of work would the people like to do?
e) Will it make any difference if different castes work side by side?
f) Who has the skills to be supervisors? Are skills the best way of determining who will be supervisors?

What difficulties will India's caste system make for developing industry?

This question should follow the role-playing exercise. The students should indicate that the caste system inhibits the development of human resources, for caste duties prescribe what activities their members can undertake. It inhibits mobility of human resources and it restricts association so that labor force may thereby be artificially restricted.

INDIA Handout, Reading III

CASTE REGULATIONS

Caste I

1. Must eat germinated gram three times each year.
2. May take water from people of his caste only.
3. Must drink water only from a brass pot or cupped hands.
4. Must wash before sunrise.
5. Forbidden to work with iron implements
6. May not associate with Caste III.
7. Traditionally this caste is a caste of landowners.

CASTE REGULATIONS

Caste II

1. Must eat germinated gram once a month.
2. May take water from anyone.
3. Must drink water from earthenware pot.
4. Must wash feet before eating, must wash mouth after eating.
5. Forbidden to work with leather.
6. Must always bow to members of Caste I.
7. Traditionally this caste has followed mechanical trades.

CASTE REGULATIONS

Caste III

1. Must eat germinated gram once a week.
2. May not take water from Castes I and II.
3. Must drink water directly from well or from cupped hands.
4. Must bathe after shaving.
5. No work is forbidden Caste III except managerial tasks.
6. Must bow to all other castes and must remain bowed until a member of Caste I has passed by him.
7. This caste traditionally has done the sweeping and cleaning of the ground.

THE FAMILY

Subject Objectives: to know:

the structure of the Indian family and the importance of family relationships in India.

that the organization of the Indian family reflects Indian values, in particular the Indian's concern for human relationships and for doing his duties.

how the structure of the Indian family affected the development of human and capital resources.

Cognitive Objectives:

4:10 Analysis of human relationships as they are promoted by the Indian family.

2:30 Extrapolation of the implications of the family for the development of human and capital resources.

Materials: Reading IV

How would you compare the Indian family with your own? How is it similar? How is it different?	This question is designed to bring out the structure of the Indian family. The students should note similarities and differences in their notebooks. The teacher might wish to write similarities and differences on the blackboard. Similarities should include--male dominated, household the province of female members. Differences include--joint family, arranged marriages, dowries, child marriages, marriage within caste.
Do family relationships restrict or enlarge the possibilities available to a man? A woman? Does family restrict whether the family's property will be used or sold?	This question should elicit some discussion on how the organization and practices of the Indian family determine the roles individuals will take in society. By and large the students should realize that the family is the institution which enforces the caste ethics and customs and the religious values. As such it tends to prescribe what the individual family member may do and may not do, in particular in terms of marriage choice, occupational choice, and human relationships in general.
What is the significance of this study of the family for our major concern in this unit? What questions would you now ask to help you use this study of the Indian family to learn of the effects it would have on economic growth?	Designed to help students place the study of the family into the larger context of Indian economic development. It is designed to get students to begin asking questions on their own. Perhaps the teacher would wish to ask the students "What questions would you now ask to help you use this study of the Indian family for working on your essay?" Students should be able to ask, "How has the family affected the development of human and capital resources in India? Has it inhibited their development? Has it promoted their

GROUP WORK: Small groups of two or three, working to find evidence for answering the questions brought out in class discussion.

development?" Once these questions have been brought out in discussion, divide the students up into groups of two or three to work together on finding answers to the questions. The teacher should move from group to group to check and see that the students are making use of the data. The students should make note that the need for dowries tends to steer savings away from capital resources. The joint family and family pressure tend to prescribe roles for the members, which in turn does not lead to the learning of new skills. The teacher may wish to allow the group work to proceed for the rest of the period or recall the class to discuss the findings of the various groups.

THE VILLAGE

Subject Objectives: To know:
- the economic conditions under which Indian peasants labor.
- how village isolation, prevailing folkways, and primitive technology prevent economic growth.
- the difficulties involved in changing the farming practices of the Indian peasant.

Cognitive Objectives:
- 5.30 Derivation of Abstract Relations. To be able to state the relationship between village customs and economic growth in India.
- 4.10 Analysis of Elements. Analysis of village economy in terms of resource allocation.

Materials: Reading V
Tape: "Tradition in the Indian Village"

What are the resources of Gopalpur? How are they allocated?	The students should discuss resource allocation in terms of human, capital, and natural resources. The students should begin by determining what resources are available in the village. Under natural resources they should identify the two types of land available to the village and the salt in the desert pool. The human resources are of course the peasants themselves, and capital resources consist of primitive tools, farm animals (bullocks), and carts. Then turn to how these are allocated. The students should note how the two types of land are used and how it is allocated to families. They should note how the tools are used. They should note that there is little division of labor in the village and that the village uses human resources instead of capital resources.
How might you allocate resources differently to bring about greater production?	The students should speculate on how the Indian farmers could produce more by using their resources in a different way. They might suggest, for example, a different mix between natural and human resources, with the gathering of small plots into large ones. They might suggest greater division of labor between the members of the village, taking some off the land to work in crafts, etc. They might suggest increasing capital resources, making greater use of available technology.

PLAY TAPE: Why have the Indians failed to use their resources to significantly increase agricultural production?	Play each section of the tape and ask the students to define how the story illustrates a barrier to economic growth. The students should recognize how existing folkways prevent drastic change in the village. They should be able to describe the relationship between these folkways and the difficulties of promoting economic growth. For example, they might indicate that the pattern of land-holding makes it difficult to alter the allocation of that resource. They might define how existing work habits prevent the introduction of new techniques. The students should also refer to how existing mores prevent economic growth. For example, the Indian's apparent lack of desire to increase his material goods and his greater concern for human relationships. The teacher should have the students draw information both from the tape and the reading.
If you had to make plans for increasing India's agricultural production, what would you do?	Have the students examine several alternatives for changing village life so that greater production could result. If they suggest strong-arm methods, remind them that India is committed to a democratic form of government and that these methods would be rejected by them.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE

Subject Objectives: to know:

that the political structure of the Indian village is dependent upon social structure which is dependent upon traditional values and customs which in turn are enforced by the village social structure.

that Indian economic planners will have to work through local ruling elite in order to introduce economic changes.

Cognitive Objectives:

5.20 Synthesis of the relationship existing between political structure and traditional values and customs.

2.30 Extrapolation of the implications of the political structure for economic development.

Materials: Reading VI
Essay Test

NOTE: The teacher may wish to devote this day to writing the essay exam. However, the teacher may wish to have the students discuss this reading before writing the essay and schedule the exam for the following day.

If we wish to investigate a political system, what questions should be asked?	This question is designed to recall the analytical questions of the course in Comparative Political Systems. The students should answer that they should ask: "Who are the political leaders and how are they recruited? What factors influence the making of political decisions? What is the role of the citizen in the political system? What is the role of ideology?"
Ask the analytical questions about Indian villages.	After the students have determined which analytical questions should be asked, they should apply them to the reading. a) Leadership: The political leaders come from the dominant caste, and generally the higher castes. They are recruited by the members of the dominant caste, generally the wealthier and older members are given political power. b) Decisions: Made by the political leaders with reference to local custom. Try to maintain the customs of the village and the particular caste of those seeking the decision. This applies to all decisions, legislative, judicial and executive. c) Role of the Individual: Determined by his place in the social structure. Higher caste become decision makers, lower and non-dominant caste members accept decisions of the elders. d) Role of Ideology: Values of Hinduism and caste duties determine decision making and recruitment of leaders.

What determines the decisions of the political leaders? How do the decisions of the leaders affect traditional customs and values in the village?	These two questions designed to bring out the interrelationship between leadership, decision making and traditional values. Students should realize that the three reinforce each other, tending to keep the same leaders in power who make similar decisions to maintain the traditional values which in turn maintain the traditional ruling elite.
How would a political system such as this affect economic growth?	The students should explain the implications of the village political system for economic growth. They should infer that the political system helps maintain traditionalism in the village, and thereby makes it more difficult to break down the traditions that impede economic growth.
Suppose you were a government planner. How would the Indian village political structure influence your strategy for bringing about change in the village?	This question should bring out the point that central government officials will have to work through the local elite to bring about change, but this may be difficult for the elite may not wish to violate their values.

INDIA **ESSAY TEST (with Rdg. VI)**

> "The traditional Indian society is a millstone around modern India's neck. It has inhibited the development of human and capital resources so that India has not yet established the pre-conditions for economic take-off."

Write an essay in which you agree or disagree with the statement above. Be sure to account for the way religion, values, social structure, village folkways, and village political systems affect the development of human and capital resources.

INDIA   Lesson Plan, Reading VII

Subject Objectives: to know:
what aspects of Western civilization the British introduced into Indian society.
what aspects of Western civilization would conflict with India's traditional society.

Cognitive Objective:
6.10 Judgments based on Internal Evidence - to evaluate the English impact upon the traditional society of India.

Materials: Reading VII
Handout

HANDOUT-WRITING EXERCISE: Divide class in two and have one-half write down aspects of western culture and the other half note aspects of Indian culture on the chart.

Have each student in one section write on handout chart the major Western traditions that affected Great Britain in the 19th century and the other half of class write on chart similar Indian traditions. Suggest to class that they group their notes under social, economic, political and ideological. When finished, two groups should have approximately the following columns:

	ENGLAND	INDIA
Economic	Industrializing, market economy based on highly developed technology.	Agrarian, traditional economy based upon crude tools.
Political	Parliamentary system which allows most social groups to participate. Decisions made to further national interest.	Village politics, leaders are from dominant caste, decisions made to uphold tradition. Little citizen participation unless of high caste. No centralized government.
Social	Social structure tending toward development of equality of opportunity. Status is earned. Social classes based partly on wealth and partly on inherited status.	Rigid social structure. Status prescribed by birth in one caste or another.
Values	Christian and scientific. Humanistic. Emphasizes individuality and individual initiative.	Hindu, other-worldly. Concerned primarily with filling obligations of caste and maintaining good human relationships.

ROLE-PLAYING EXERCISE: Ask the group representing the British: "What changes would you wish to make in Indian society?" Ask the group representing the Indians to respond to the British proposals.	Have students who worked on British aspects of society pretend they are British administrators. Ask them what purpose they have in India. Then ask them what they intend to change in Indian life and why. Have the section that worked on India react to the British proposals. During the course of the discussion, the teacher should have the "British Administrators" recall the facts in Reading VII. Teacher should remind the students that the administrator's policies changed as conditions in England changed, that the English forcibly suppressed suttee, thugee, infanticide, slavery, and banditry as humanitarian measures and that England was able to integrate the economy so as to worsen the impact of famines in India.
WRITING EXERCISE: On the basis of this exercise, can you develop a hypothesis about what happened when the two cultures, India and England, came into contact in this way?	The students should synthesize a hypothesis from the role-playing exercise.

INDIA

Handout, Reading VII

	ENGLAND	INDIA
Economic		
Political		
Social		
Values		

THE BRITISH IN INDIA: POLITICS AND EDUCATION

Subject Objectives: to know:

- that the British introduced many of their own institutions and values into India and that as a result, the traditional culture of India began to break down and India began adopting western ways.
- that the changes introduced by the British removed some of the barriers the traditional society placed in the way of the development of human and capital resources.

Cognitive Objectives:

- 2:30 Extrapolation of the implications of British contributions to Indian culture for the development of human and capital resources.
- 6:10 Evaluation of hypothesis in terms of evidence from reading.

Materials: Reading VIII

On the basis of last night's reading, do you think that the hypothesis you wrote yesterday is validated, or did you have to modify it?

This question is designed to induce the students to evaluate the hypotheses they developed on the preceding day. A general discussion should be developed around this question in which the students tell the class what their hypothesis was and how the facts from the reading either corroborated it or forced them to modify it. In the course of the discussion the first knowledge objective for the lesson should also be achieved, for the students should tell which institutions were introduced and what changes they brought about in Indian society. A short check list of these changes follows:

Institutions: Government of law, not men or custom; representative government; civil service. Broke down rule of princes and disrupted traditional village government of the panchayat. Trained officials in governing techniques.

Education: Developed common language and inculcated Indians with western ideas of equality, liberty, nationalism. Did not train them for practical matters.

Technology: Introduction of railroads, steel mills, etc.

Social Structure: Developed an Indian middle class independent of caste structure. Development of cities broke down traditional family structure and the values of the village.

What were the aspects of traditional Indian society which hindered development of human and capital resources? How will the British contributions affect these barriers?	This question is designed to draw out the implications of the changes introduced by the British for the economy of India. The students should recall that the village folkways, caste system, the family organization, the Hindu values, and the political system all limited India's potential for developing her resources. The students should also realize that the British went a long way toward breaking down these barriers. The development of new political leaders with western values, the effect of the city upon family structure, the development of a class structure somewhat independent of the caste system, the introduction of new technology, the introduction of governmental institutions more responsive to change - all would tend to reduce the barriers to economic growth.
How much effect did the English have on the development of the Indian economy?	The aim of this question is to get the students thinking about the next reading. After a short discussion it should become clear that they cannot answer the question because they do not have relevant evidence for doing so. The teacher should make this clear to the students if they do not realize it themselves. Then the teacher should suggest that the next reading will provide them with evidence for answering the question and they can then assess to what degree the innovations Britain brought to India really spurred economic growth.

BRITISH RULE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY

Subject Objectives: To know:

the aspects of the traditional Indian economy that England destroyed.

the degree to which England helped establish the preconditions for take-off in India.

Cognitive Objectives:

4.10 Analysis of Elements - To be able to select those aspects of the traditional Indian economy broken down by England.

6.20 Judgments in Terms of External Criteria.- To be able to evaluate the impact of Britain on India's economy in terms of the criteria of Walt Whitman Rostow.

Materials: Reading IX

What aspects of the traditional Indian economy did the British destroy?	The students should select aspects of the Indian economy studied earlier in the course. They should indicate such items as the reallocation of land resources to cash crops, the smaller reallocation of human resources to industry, the replacement of cottage craftsmanship with industrial production. The teacher should also see that the students note those aspects that the British failed to break down; in particular, attitudes and values that retard economic growth.
How do we know whether or not an economy has established the preconditions of take-off?	Get the students to recall the criteria established by Rostow. The students' attention may be directed to the fourth paragraph on page 48 for help. List these criteria on the board.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into several groups of five or six students. Ask that each come to a consensus in answer to the question: "Did the English establish the preconditions for take-off in India?"	Be sure each group uses the criteria on the board to assess the British impact on India's economy. In referring to the reading, the students can point to a government that was willing to aid economic development by establishing better transportation, corporation laws, and financial institutions. They can also point out that the government hindered the agricultural output by changing the pattern of land holding. The students can also indicate that without improvements in agriculture, industrialization is not possible. The students should indicate that the British did not establish a more fluid class system for caste still predominated.
GROUP REPORTS: Have a spokesman from each group explain the consensus of his group.	As the reports are made, allow challenges from other students in the class. Try to achieve some kind of consensus in the entire class on the degree to which England established the preconditions for take-off.

THE DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Subject Objectives: To know:
the reasons why Ghandi and Nehru wanted independence for India.
the implications of each man's position for the economic growth of India.

Cognitive Objectives:
4.10 Analysis of Elements - To be able to select passages from the reading that reveal the motives of Ghandi and Nehru.
3.00 Application - To be able to use general theories as a basis for discussing specific questions.
2.30 Extrapolation - To be able to state the implications for economic growth that grow out of Nehru's and Ghandi's value systems.

Materials: Reading X
Essay Exam

ADMINISTER 20-minute ESSAY EXAM

ROLE-PLAYING EXERCISE: Have half the class act as spokesmen for Ghandi's point of view and half the class act as spokesmen for Nehru. Ask them the following questions (Note: it is not necessary to ask them in the order in which they appear).

-- Why do you object to the British being in India?

-- Have you gained anything from British rule?

-- Why do you want the British to leave?

-- What will you do once the British leave India?

-- Will the British withdrawal help or hinder your economy?

The students should apply their knowledge of Ghandi's and Nehru's arguments to the specific questions asked. In general, Ghandi should reject everything that western civilization holds sacred, and exalt the simple life in which men seek more to do their duty than to gratify themselves. Nehru should also respond in the Indian vein insofar as the importance of realizing one's responsibilities is concerned. However, he will also reject many of the traditional aspects of Indian life and suggest that India adopt western technology and western-style socialism. The students should be able to select passages from the reading that will support their assertions.

WRITING EXERCISE: If you were Nehru, what practical steps would you take to help the Indian economy grow? How would you go about developing the human, capital and natural resources of your country?

Have the students outline a specific program for spurring economic growth. They ought to indicate what they will do to break down those aspects of the traditional economy that retard growth and what western-style practices they will use to speed growth. They should keep Nehru's frame of reference in mind as they write.

REPORTS

Have a number of students read their programs. Allow other members of the class to ask questions and challenge the programs on the basis of 1) whether or not the program is within Nehru's frame of reference, and 2) whether or not the proposals are likely to bring about growth.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA Exam, Readings 1-10

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last twenty minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers. If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to the questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

Questions 1 through 3 refer to the following quotation:

> "Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty and observance of morality. ...To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. ...Civilization means 'good conduct'."
>
> M. K. Ghandi in HIND SWARAJ

D— 1. Which of the following items would the writer of the quotation above consider indispensable to civilization?
A. Railroads
B. Printing presses
C. A written constitution
[✓ D.] Religious faith

A- 2. According to this quotation, which of the following elements of traditional Indian culture would Ghandi believe essential to civilization?
[✓ A.] The concept of Dharma or doing one's duty
B. The organization of society into castes
C. The extended family
D. Arranged marriages

A- 3. All of the following statements explain the implications of the above quotation for the Indian economy, EXCEPT:
[✓ A.] Indians who hold this view would oppose economic development.
B. Indians who hold this view would be relatively unconcerned about economic development.
C. Indians who hold this view would be more concerned about their relationship to other men than their relationships to things.
D. Indians who hold this view would not be as impressed with English technology as they would be repelled by British high-handed methods of administration.

D- 4. All of the following statements about traditional village politics in India are justifiable EXCEPT:
A. The political leaders tended to make decisions on the basis of the customs, mores, and folkways of the individuals involved.
B. Village leaders generally were drawn from the dominant caste of the village.
C. Each caste in the village elected its own leaders.
[✓ D.] Each village was governed by an appointee of one of the Indian princes.

Questions 5 through 7 refer to the following chart:

Percentage of Castes in Selected Occupations (1931)

CASTE	% in Agriculture	% in Industry	% in Higher Professions
Middle Caste Pottery Makers	20	66	4
Middle Caste Blacksmiths	22	56	5
Low Caste Leather Workers	33	44	1
Low Caste Fishermen, Farmers	81	5	1
Low Caste Herdsmen	38	7	5
High Caste Medicine	6	2	50
High Caste Priests, Teachers	15	5	31

C - 5. The chart would help you answer all of the following questions EXCEPT:
- A. What restrictions does caste impose on the recruitment of a labor force?
- B. From which castes do Indian farmers come?
- [✓ C.] What percentage of Indians are Brahmins?
- D. What percentage of each of the five castes follow occupations other than those traditionally assigned to the caste?

D - 6. The chart carries implications for all of the following EXCEPT:
- A. the recruitment of a labor force in India.
- [✓ B.] the population explosion in India.
- C. the development of textile mills in India.
- D. the development of human resources in India.

D - 7. All of the following conclusions can be justified by the evidence in the chart EXCEPT:
- A. Modern Indians generally find work in occupations that most nearly approximate their traditional caste occupations.
- B. When Indians follow occupations different from those prescribed by their caste, they generally find work in agricultural occupations.
- C. Very few Indians who come from artisan and agricultural castes find work in the higher professions.
- [✓ D.] Many higher caste (professional) Indians find work in agriculture and industry.

C- 8. All of the following aspects of British government were adopted by the new Indian government after independence EXCEPT:
A. a representative Parliament. [✓ C.] two-party system.
B. a Bill of Rights. D. the rule of law.

Questions 9 through 12 refer to the following quotations:

I. "The plowshare consists of a curved, sharpened piece of wood with a flattened iron spike for a blade."
II. "A five-acre field must be plowed at least twice, requiring eight days of labor by one man and two bullocks."
III. "The Indian peasant is not concerned with increasing production... so much as he is concerned with...preventing sinful behavior in himself and his neighbors."
IV. "It is the custom for married sons to remain under the paternal roof."

D- 9. Which of the quotations above indicates that the allocation of human resources in India is governed largely by tradition?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D.] IV

C- 10. Which quotation would you choose to justify the conclusion "Indian peasants have not developed better farming methods because their value system does not emphasize material prosperity."?
A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

C- 11. Which of the quotations above would you select to justify the conclusion, "India's undeveloped technology requires that the Indian peasant work long and hard to complete basic tasks of farming."?
A. I only B. II only [✓ C.] I & II only D. I, II, & III

B- 12. The quotations above would carry important implications for all of the following EXCEPT a man who was
A. concerned about the development of human and capital resources in India.
[✓ B.] studying the caste system in India.
C. studying the effects of Indian values on economic development.
D. studying traditional Indian society.

A - 13. Which of the following factors is a major cause for England's failure to develop India economically?
[✓ A.] England's failure to carry out land reforms.
B. England's failure to build railroads.
C. England's failure to train government workers.
D. England's failure to build factories.

C- 14. A good Hindu should do all of the following EXCEPT:
A. do his prescribed duties.
B. protect animals.
[✓ C.] condemn heretical beliefs.
D. follow religious leaders without question.

Questions 15 through 17 refer to the following speakers:

SPEAKER I: "Thuggee, Suttee, and Infanticide are terrible. We must eliminate them from India."
SPEAKER II: "I only know that I must do my duty as assigned me by my caste."
SPEAKER III: "Things have always been the way they are and they always will be. One should resign oneself to one's fate."
SPEAKER IV: "We should not make basic reforms in Indian society for it is not our place to do so. We are aliens who happen to rule."

B- 15. Which speaker explains the concept of Dharma?
A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

A- 16. Which of the speakers would justify his stand on western humanistic values?
[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

C- 17. Which of the speakers reflect(s) Indian values?
A. II only B. III only [✓ C.] II & III only D. II, III & IV only

B- 18. The organization of the Indian family affects the Indian economy in all of the following ways EXCEPT:
A. Savings are generally spent to provide a dowry for girls rather than to invest in capital and human resources.
[✓ B.] The family is too small a unit for efficient production.
C. The family exerts pressure on its members to follow traditional occupations, making a transition to a modern labor force difficult.
D. Arranged marriages tend to delay change by at least one generation, making economic development much slower.

B- 19. In the early nineteenth century, the British were successful in eliminating all of the following in India, EXCEPT
A. infanticide. [✓ B.] caste. C. thuggee. D. suttee.

A- 20. Which of the following institutions did the English bring to India?
[✓ A.] The House of Lords
C. Civil Service
B. Royalty
D. Humanitarian values

D- 21. Caste in India regulates all of the following activities, EXCEPT:
A. whom one may marry
C. with whom one may associate.
B. what one wears.
[✓ D.] in what city or town one may live.

C- 22. A visitor to an Indian village would probably find all of the following EXCEPT:
A. entire families working in the fields.
B. the use of animals as the basic form of power.
[✓ C.] forty-acre farms.
D. periodic religious observances.

23. India's fundamental economic problems stem primarily from
    [✓ A.] her poorly developed human and capital resources.
    B. her lack of natural resources.
    C. her huge population.
    D. her limited arable (cultivatable) soil.

24. All of the following questions could be asked in order to begin an investigation of the hypothesis: "India's traditional society has retarded her economic growth." EXCEPT:
    A. Do religious values discourage Indians from trying to better themselves economically?
    B. Does the social structure slow down the mobility necessary for the development of a labor force?
    [✓ C.] What factories were built by the British in India?
    D. Has the government retarded investment in capital resources?

C- 25. The British brought all of the following to India EXCEPT:
    A. railroads.
    B. textile factories.
    [✓ C.] armaments factories.
    D. mining.

ELITES AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: AN APPROACH TO ANALYSIS

Subject Objectives: To know:
how a model, such as that proposed by Harbison _et al_. can be used to analyze economic growth.

Cognitive Objective:
5.20 _Development of a Plan or Proposed Set of Operations_ - To be able to generate a number of analytical questions for analyzing the methods of bringing about economic development in India.

Materials: Reading XI

What does this chart propose to do?	The students should recognize that it tries to establish a model of how various elites have attempted to develop the economy of their countries. It should reflect to some degree what generally happens when a particular elite endeavors to bring about economic growth.
Let's see if it works. Let's apply this chart to (England, Russia, India under English rule).	Choose any one of the countries that the students have studied and begin asking questions based upon the chart. The teacher might ask such questions as "Was the basic goal of the elite (_whatever the chart says the goal was_)? or "Was the major priority of the elite ____________?" etc. The teacher might wish to ask one question of one country and then switch to another country for the next question, and so on. The teacher need not ask questions in all of the categories.
How have I been using this chart?	Work toward the general statement that the teacher has used the model as a basis for asking questions. The students should realize from this exercise that models help one ask the appropriate questions for analyzing economic growth.
WRITING EXERCISE: Have the students write a number of questions which they can use to analyze Indian economic growth.	Using the charts in much the same way, have the students write out their own questions for analyzing economic growth. Such questions might be "Is the Indian elite trying to mix aspects of market and command economies?" Is the Indian elite placing a priority on upgrading agricultural production?" etc.
REPORTS	Have the students read the questions they have asked and list them on the board. Tell them that they will use these questions for analyzing the way India is trying to bring about economic growth.

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

Subject Objective: To know
the goals of the economic planners in India; namely, to produce a self sufficient agriculture, provide a foundation for self-sustained growth and improve the standard of living.
the difficulties economic planners face in assigning priorities to different development needs.

Cognitive Objectives:
3.00 Application to be able to apply analytical questions drawn from the model elite analysis to the study of India's plans.

Materials: Reading XII
Handout: India's Third Five Year Plan
Transparency: India's Third Five Year Plan.

Which of the analytical questions which you developed yesterday will be useful in analyzing this reading?	The students should be able to apply relevant questions to this reading. Such questions should surround the goals of the Indian planners. Sample questions might be: "Is the basic goal to bring about national independence in the economic sphere?" "Do the planners wish to increase the production of consumer goods as well as producer's goods?" etc.
How would you answer these questions on the basis of today's reading?	Take each question in turn, having the students supply data for answering the questions they have asked. Work towards the first subject objective in this exercise leaving the matter of tactics, or assigning priorities for the next exercise.
How would you, as a planner in India, make a five year budget allowing some of India's resources to go to consumer goals as well as to national-growth goals?	Pass out the Handout sheet, explain it to the students and have them work individually on them for ten minutes. Encourage the student to make a budget even though they may not think they have enough answers. Ask several students to explain why they assigned priorities to industry or to agriculture, etc. and encourage other students to challenge these priorities. (The budget each student makes will be used in a future lesson so have the students place these budgets in their notebooks.) Use the transparency, grease pencilling in the allocations as one student reads his capital assignment. At the end of the period you may wish to show the actual capital assignment or you may wish to wait until Lesson XIV.
What is the major difficulty that Indian economic planners face?	Work towards a succinct statement from the class on the difficulties of assigning priorities in development when "everything needs to be done."

INDIA'S THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

1961-1966

Many factors enter into decisions of Planning Boards. Among the most important are the needs of the people about which you read in Lesson XII. Another factor is what your limited resources will buy. Below are the seven major categories to be considered for the 1961-1966 Five Year Plan and beside these are listed what was actually gained for each one billion dollars spent on the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961.)

Assume that you are on India's Planning Board. How would you allocate the $21.8 billion dollars that is at your command to best serve the basic needs and goals of India? You may use the 21.8 billion in multiples of 100 million.

At the end of the period we will discuss your allocation of funds so be prepared to defend your choices. Keep this handout sheet in your notebook for future reference.

ITEM	RESULTS PER $1,000,000,000 DURING THE 2nd FIVE YEAR PLAN.
1. Train farmers in better techniques and for general community development.	Add 88,300,000 tons of grain each year.
2. Improve and create new irrigation projects.	Add 24,000,000 new acres of farm land in the five years.
3. Electrify homes and create power for industry.	Add 1,600,000 KW in five years.
4. Increase production of iron, steel, and coal and all large industry.	Add 600,000 tons of steel, 2,300,000 tons of iron ore and 5,800,000 tons of coal each year.
5. Help small industries and village industry. Increase the per capita handcrafts production.	Add 956,000,000 meters of cloth per year.
6. Build roads, improve harbors and increase transportation facilities.	Add 10,000 commercial trucks and 920,000 tons of shipping in five years.
7. Improve health and social conditions.	Add 22,000 hospital beds and 1,800 doctors in five years.

EFFECTS OF INDIA'S PLANNING

Subject Objectives: To know:

That India uses techniques of persuasion and government - community development programs to increase agricultural production.
How India has chosen to allot her resources in the Third Five Year Plan.

Cognitive Objectives:
3.00 Application to be able to apply analytical questions derived from the model elite analysis in studying village development.
4.10 Analysis of Elements to be able to select passages from the reading that will be helpful in answering analytical questions.

Materials: Reading XIII
Transparency: India's Third Five Year Plan with overlay #1.

"How did India actually allocate her resources during the Third Five Year Plan?"	Continue the discussion from yesterday if you choose, using the overlay showing the actual outlay of money for India's Third Five Year Plan. Compare the Indian government's allocation with the student model that was discussed in class yesterday.
How did Indian traditions prevent economic growth in the villages?	Students might recall the traditional allocation of resources as discovered in Reading V and some conclusions might be drawn that these are inefficient ways of allocating resources.
What analytical questions would you ask to study how India is trying to develop her agriculture?	Have the students use the questions they developed for Reading XI. These questions should surround the tactics used to change the traditional ways of doing things in the village. Questions might concern: "What values has India had to break down to promote economic growth?" "Has India tried to keep the essence of the values while changing how they are practiced?" Students should also develop other analytical questions about the ways India has modified tradition.
	Students should be able to state in some detail how India has attempted to modify her traditional society in order to promote economic growth without actually destroying all aspects of the society itself.

INDIA Lesson Plan, Reading XIV

Developing Indian Economy

Knowledge Objectives: To Know:

that India is improving her economy dramatically but that she is still not achieving what she hopes to achieve in the Third Five Year Plan.

how the Indian government has attempted to utilize its limited capital to expand its human and capital resources for industry.

Method of Inquiry Objectives: To be able to apply analytical questions derived from the transparencies to an evaluation of India's progress.

to be able to interpret information from charts and to form opinions from this information.

to arrive at a specific opinion and to be able to put that opinion into a succinct statement of general conditions from segment analysis of the charts.

Materials: Reading XIV

Transparencies "How is India Doing?" (2 transparencies)

Considering the allotment of resources India has made in the Third Five Year Plan in what segment of her economy would you expect the greatest gains to be registered?	After students have replied "Industry, transportation and Social Services" place the transparency on the screen showing the percent of 1966 goals already achieved by 1963 (without the spent money overlay.) Invite discussion of any segment of the economy that is different than the predictions of the students. (-10% in agriculture, -90% for transportation etc.)
What two factors should be considered when we evaluate India's progress towards her 1966 goals?	"Elapsed time and money spent." Place overlay #1 on the screen. Invite student discussion about the fact that over half of the money allocated has already been spent and that two of the five years have passed and many of her goals are still a long way from being realized.
After agriculture, what segment is not progressing adequately towards the 1966 goals?	"Home Industry."
From your readings today, can you list some of the factors which would retard India's progress towards these goals? Can you list some of the aids towards improvement that India is receiving?	"A few trained people from World War II have helped, government interest and help in supplying electricity and technical assistance has helped; indifference of the people to progress, reluctance to change from the traditional systems of production and little material goods have hindered. etc."

There is another way of evaluating India's progress.	Show "Major segments of India's economy compared to 1958" on the overhead. "Population and Agriculture."
Why does "120" and "150%" not necessarily mean a thriving economy?	This question is designed to point up that the base of index figures is most important. One hundred and fifty percent is fine if everything were in good order in the index year (1958).
In what year, according to the chart does India seem to have entered the "Take off stage" as mentioned in Rostow?	Chart seems to imply 1949. Rostow claims about 1952.
	WRITING EXERCISE - In 200 words or less write a statement of "How India is doing." (It might be a good idea to permit the transparencies to remain on the screen while the students are writing.)

INDEX NUMBERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION *

(Base: 1956 = 100)

	1951	1955	1960	1961	1962	(Jan.-Oct.)** 1963
Mining and Quarrying	87.0	97.1	137.2	147.3	161.3	175.8
Food Manufacturing	79.6	93.3	117.4	129.3	127.4	117.9
Cotton Textiles	79.1	95.2	102.9	109.0	109.6	111.7
Machinery (except electrical)	45.2	83.3	236.7	264.0	285.2	351.7
Transport Equipment	46.1	73.1	119.4	130.8	144.5	143.8
Electricity	60.9	88.1	171.0	198.8	223.4	253.8
Metal Products	54.4	96.5	105.9	152.3	179.1	195.5
Chemicals & Chemical Products	72.9	96.3	149.1	173.0	183.9	217.5
Petroleum Products	6.4	77.9	148.0	159.4	169.0	194.4
Rubber Products	75.4	92.0	141.3	157.4	169.4	185.1
Electrical Machinery, Apparatus, Appliances and Supplies	43.6	71.9	175.9	183.0	211.2	235.5
Basic Metals	83.5	96.6	183.1	184.3	227.9	259.7

* India 1964: A Reference Annual, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi 1964, 267-68.

** Provisional.

INDIA

Reading XV, Lesson Plan

CASTE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

Subject Objectives: to know:

that industrialization has developed a somewhat greater fluidity in the Indian class structure.

that new industries accommodate the caste system in their recruitment of labor and management personnel.

Cognitive Objectives:

3.00 Application of the generalizations and data in Reading XV to specific cases.

5.10 Derivation of Abstract Relations - to be able to state a hypothesis regarding the effect of caste on industrialization and the effect of industrialization on caste from the data given in the chart to be filled out in class.

Materials: Reading XV

Handout - Chart - "What happens when an Indian moves to the city?"

PASS OUT HANDOUT Answer the questions on the chart and have students fill it in. (20-25 minutes)	Base class discussion around the questions on the chart. Students should be able to fill in the chart from the information given in Reading X
Based on the information on this chart, do you think industrialization is breaking the caste system down in India? (10-15 minutes)	After chart is filled in, ask students question on left. Students should point out that there is greater social contact between the various castes than there once was, and that traditional determinants such as birth and ownership of land which had once determined caste membership seem to be breaking down. On the other hand, the students should note that when caste members move to the city they obtain jobs that are roughly equivalent to the kinds of occupations they once had in the village, as far as social status is concerned--that is, lower caste Hindus generally take more menial jobs while higher caste Hindus take jobs that have greater prestige.
Suppose you were running a factory in Kanpur. What problems of recruiting labor would you have? (10-15 minutes)	After a short discussion of the preceding questio the rest of the period should be devoted to this question of recruiting. Discussion should bring out the point that recruitment is somewhat limited by the caste system--it would be difficul for instance, to bring a bright, lower caste Hindu in as an office boy because the other office boys and office clerks who come from a higher caste might fear "pollution." This restricts recruitment, therefore, purely on the basis of talent. Recruitment of labor might further be curtailed if higher caste people stopped coming to the city, thus creating a shortage of "qualified" management personnel.
How then has caste affected industrialization and how has industrialization affected caste? (5 minutes)	Finish class with a question for a short summary statement which will embody knowledge objectives stated at beginning of lesson.

INDIA Handout, Reading XV

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN AN INDIAN MOVES TO THE CITY?

Questions	High Caste Landlord	Middle Class Artisan	Low Caste Tenant Farmer
How did he become a member of this caste?			
Why did he leave his village?			
What kind of job will he get in Kanpur?			
What kind of work will his job entail?			
With whom will he come into contact in his occupation?			
How has his life been changed by coming to the city?			
What kind of future can he look forward to?			

WHERE IS INDIA GOING?

Subject Objectives: to know
the progress India has made to this point and some of the prospects for the future.

Cognitive Objectives:
6.10 Judgments in Terms of External Evidence - to be able to evaluate India's progress in developing her economy.

Materials: Reading XVI

The teacher may wish to use this day in any one of a number of ways. The day can be used to:

1. Administer the full-period final exam.
2. Conduct class discussion on the question: "Do you think India has made sufficient progress in developing her economy to begin self-sustained economic growth and economic independence?"
3. Conduct a debate on the question: "Resolved: India should adopt the Chinese Communist command economy to insure her economic growth."
4. Conduct any culminating activity the teacher thinks appropriate.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA FINAL EXAM

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This examination is divided into two parts. The first part is an objective examination, consisting of 15 questions for which you should allot 15 minutes. The second part is an essay examination to be written during the remainder of the period.

For each question in the objective section choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

B- 1. All of the following techniques have been used in Indian villages to increase agricultural production EXCEPT:
A. teaching peasants how to make and use fertilizer.
[✓ B.] increasing the amount of land farmed by each peasant.
C. consolidating the land holdings of peasants.
D. development of cooperatives which share farm implements.

B- 2. All of the following statements are generally true EXCEPT:
A. High caste Indians become managers in Indian leather factories.
[✓ B.] Middle caste Indians work with untanned leather in Indian leather factories.
C. Members of the old warrior caste become guards in Indian leather factories.
D. The lowest caste Indians become sweepers and janitors in Indian leather factories.

C- 3. Which of the following problems do Indian economic planners find the most difficult to solve? To decide
A. whether to borrow money from the United States or the Soviet Union.
B. whether or not India will adopt totalitarian methods for development.
[✓ C.] which of India's pressing needs will receive priority in development.
D. how much total capital will be invested in development.

D- 4. The fundamental goal of India's third Five Year Plan is to
A. make her military forces the strongest in the world.
B. increase the amount of capital available to the government.
C. create a market economy.
[✓ D.] lay the foundation for self-sustained economic growth.

A- 5. The basic strategy of the Indian government in developing the economy is
[✓ A.] state guidance in making economic decisions.
B. state command of the economic decisions.
C. no state participation in making economic decisions.
D. state reliance on traditions in making economic decisions.

A 6. Which of the following has India used most extensively in attempting to increase her agricultural problem?
   [✓ A.] Experts assigned to special districts to teach Indian peasants how to use new techniques.
   B. The development of collective farms by joining all small farms into one large farm.
   C. A greatly increased use of tractors and other heavy machinery to mechanize farming.
   D. A land reform program which has broken up large individual holdings into smaller units so that each family may own its own land.

B 7. The model constructed by Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers is useful for studying Indian economic development in that it
   A. explains what is really going on in India.
   [✓ B.] suggests analytical questions which can be used in studying Indian economic growth.
   C. tells what difficulties India faces in industrialization.
   D. evaluates how well India is doing in promoting economic growth.

C 8. Which of the following is India's greatest problem in obtaining capital for industrial development?
   A. Foreign countries are reluctant to lend India any money.
   B. Indian people forcibly resist high taxes to provide capital.
   [✓ C.] The Indian government does not wish to tax the people more heavily to provide capital.
   D. The Indian people do not like to save money in banks so that it could be used for capital.

D 9. India has relied heavily on developing small industries for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
   A. they are relatively inexpensive to establish.
   B. they can provide the consumer goods, releasing government funds for expanding basic industries.
   C. they provide a good method for training Indians in management and technical skills.
   [✓ D.] Indians would rather work in small industries than in large-scale operations.

D 10. India has found it difficult to greatly increase the standard of living because
   A. the Indian government has not tried to develop consumer industries.
   B. the Indian economic planners have not tried to improve agriculture.
   C. India has had to concentrate more on building up a huge military establishment.
   [✓ D.] the growth of India's population offsets gains made in economic growth.

Questions 11 through 15 refer to the following statements:

I. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1.

II. Sentence #2 tends to confirm sentence #1, but more proof is needed to be sure.

III. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence that sentence #1 is incorrect.

IV. Sentence #2 neither proves nor disproves sentence #1. The two sentences are unrelated.

A 11. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - Indian economic planners have given highest priority to increasing agricultural production.

#2 - 40% of India's development budget is allocated to agricultural training, irrigation, and the production of fertilizer while the remaining 60% of the budget is split evenly between increasing industrial production and public education.

[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

B 12. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - "India's increased agricultural production is due mainly to irrigation."

#2 - "During the first and second five year plans nearly 30 million acres were irrigated."

A. I [✓ B] II C. III D. IV

C 13. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - India's economic development is not keeping pace with its population growth.

#2 - Per capita income in India has risen 11 percent since 1947 and continues to rise at about 2% a year.

A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

B 14. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - "China's economy is growing faster than India's because China forces her people to save more and consume less."

#2 - China's rate of saving is about 22% of national income while India's rate of saving is about 8%.

A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

A 15. Which of the statements above best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?

#1 - The rapid increase in India's population is due chiefly to a lower death rate.

#2 - While India's birth rate remained stable at about 40 per thousand, and immigration to India was practically nothing, her death rate decreased from 27 per thousand to 20 per thousand in a ten-year period.

[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE FOR THE ESSAY QUESTION.

"India has made significant progress in breaking down those elements of the traditional society that hamper economic growth."

Agree or disagree with the statement. Support your conclusions with specific evidence from the readings and class discussion.

RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

A UNIT FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

prepared at the

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RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

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RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

Introduction

The problem of race relations troubles all men in the twentieth century. All nations where two or more races occupy the same soil must find ways to reduce conflict between those who have different colored skins. The United States confronts the problem of integrating Negroes and whites into a unified culture. Racial strife punctuated a recent election in Great Britain. In India, caste lines are still based on skin color in many areas.

Though prejudice and discrimination characterize race relations in every country where two or more races live together, each country has worked out its own social system to regulate the relationships between them. The Union of South Africa, where races are geographically separated, represents one approach to the problem. Segregation in the United States represents still another. In Brazil, a third pattern has emerged.

If twentieth century men are going to work out satisfactory relationships between the races, they must study the different types of social systems that have developed. They must learn why the Union of South Africa adopted a policy of apartheid, why the United States developed a segregated society which it is now trying to destroy, and why Brazil has established still another system of race relations. They must discover what problems each system poses and what problems each system solves.

When they study the social system of any country, social scientists ask a number of analytical questions in order to make sense out of the data they obtain. These questions generally grow out of a number of concepts that social scientists find useful in classifying all types of human behavior. Role, status, norms and social class are among the concepts most useful for defining social relationships. Role means the functions or the tasks that are given to various members of a society. For example, women in the United States fill the roles associated with child-rearing. Status means the relative rank certain roles are given in society. In America, for instance, men who fill the role of a teacher generally have a higher status than those who have the role of an unskilled laborer. Norms means the standards of behavior that are expected from those who occupy a particular role. Doctors, for example, are expected to behave in certain ways. Social class means the large group of men who share many things in common, such as wealth, education, role, and status.

This unit considers the pattern of race relations in Brazil. It will help you answer such questions as "What factors shaped the race relations of modern Brazil?" "What are the characteristics of those relations?" "What problems do they pose and what problems do they solve?"

Reading I

Reading I was written by Era Bell Thompson, the international editor of Ebony, a magazine read mostly by American Negroes. Because his readers are concerned with different approaches to race relations, Mr. Thompson traveled in Brazil to see if that South American nation offered a better alternative to those of the United States. Used to discrimination in his own country, Mr. Thompson kept a watchful eye out for discrimination in Brazil. As you read his article, consider the following questions.

1. How does Mr. Thompson's frame of reference influence his observations on race relations in Brazil? What passages in the article give clues to his frame of reference?
2. Does skin color determine what roles a man may fill in Brazilian society? Do those who have dark skins (pretos) have the same roles as those who have white skins (brancos)?
3. Does skin color determine social status in Brazil? Do dark-skinned Brazilians enjoy the same status as white-skinned Brazilians?
4. What norms govern the relationships between the races? For example, what norms govern contact between white-skinned and dark-skinned Brazilians?
5. Does skin color determine the social class to which a man may belong in Brazil?

RACE RELATIONS IN MODERN BRAZIL *

* From Era Bell Thompson, "Does Amalgamation Work in Brazil?" in Ebony, vol. XX, no. 9, July, 1965, 27-41 passim.

Mr. Thompson reports on his experiences as an American Negro traveling in Brazil. He cites several instances in which he believed he was the victim of discrimination, but also states that Brazil seems to have less racial discrimination than his native land.

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT IN BRAZIL

Stating the Issue

In colonial times, people from three distinct cultures populated Brazil. The original inhabitants, the Indians, occupied parts of the territory before the first Europeans arrived. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese established colonial outposts along the Brazilian coast. As their colony grew and the demand for labor increased, the Portuguese imported African slaves from Senegal, Guinea, Angola, and the Congo.

The Indian population of Brazil was never large. Scholars estimate that when the first white man arrived, no more than 1,000,000 Indians roamed the tropical forests and savannahs of the country. As the number of whites and Negroes in Brazil increased, the Indian population declined. Contact with the European reduced their numbers through war and disease imported from across the Atlantic. By 1889 the Indian population had decreased to a little over 300,000.

No one is sure just how many Africans were transported across the Atlantic in the stinking holds of slave ships, since all records of the slave trade were destroyed. Estimates vary from 4,000,000 to 18,000,000. Nonetheless, in 1889 at least 2,000,000 pure blood Africans were living in Brazil. Another million people were the offspring of African-Portuguese unions.

Only a small number of Portuguese migrated to Brazil. By 1889 less than a million Brazilians were of pure Portuguese stock. Nor did other Europeans move to Brazil in large numbers. Though they were small in number, the Portuguese dominated Brazil from the time the first settlers set foot on her soil.

Part I of this unit on Brazil traces the history of the contact between the Brazilian Indians, the Negroes, and the Portuguese. The readings in this section will help you answer such questions as "What happened to each group when it came into contact with the others?" "What characterized the relationship between the Portuguese and the Indian?" "What characterized the relationship between the Portuguese and the Negro?" "What foundations of race relations were established in Brazil?"

Reading II

THE INDIAN

The first Europeans to come to the New World called the original inhabitants Indians. The invaders used the same term whether they encountered the highly developed Aztec of Mexico or the more primitive Cherokee of North America. Yet, just as European countries differed from one another, groups of Indians varied widely in their economic, political, and social development. There was probably greater similarity between the Portuguese, Spanish, and English than there was between the Aztecs, Seminoles, and Iroquois.

Several varieties of Indians lived in Brazil. No large political unit, such as that of the Aztec or Inca, had united all Brazilian Indians into one culture. In the interior, nomadic tribes roamed the land, hunting or gathering wild vegetation for their living. The tribes who lived nearer the coast, however, had learned to farm. The two groups of Indians had developed quite different cultures neither of which had much in common with that of the invading Portuguese.

Sociologists and anthropologists have identified four processes which can take place when two different cultures come in contact in the same geographic area. They are:

Accommodation:	A universal social process through which conflicting groups settle their differences while retaining their respective identities.
Assimilation:	The universal social process through which cultural differences between groups are gradually reduced or eliminated.
Amalgamation:	The physical or biological blending of peoples through such measures as intermarriage.
Extermination:	The process by which the members of one group kill all the members of another.

All four of these alternatives were open to the Portuguese and the Brazilian Indians during the early years of their contact.

In Brazil Europeans first came into contact with the Tupi-Guarani people who lived near the coast. This group of tribes had the greatest influence of any Indian groups on modern Brazilian culture. The Portuguese learned their language in order to communicate with the other Indians of Brazil through Tupi translators. Reading II is a description of these coastal Indians written by a modern scholar, Charles Wagley. As you read this account, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What kind of political system did the Tupi have? What were their political institutions? Who were their leaders? How were their leaders chosen?
2. How would you describe the Tupi economy? What goods and services did the Indians produce? How did they produce them? How would their techniques of production compare with those of the Portuguese? What could the Portuguese learn from them?
3. What attitudes do you think Europeans would have toward the Tupi?
4. Which of the four processes described in the Introduction will be most likely to take place between the Portuguese and the Indians? Why?

THE ABORIGINES OF BRAZIL *

* From Charles Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil (Columbia University Press, New York: 1963), 14-20 passim.

Wagley's description of the aborigines depicts a primitive horticultural people who grouped themselves into small, semi-nomadic bands. He describes their slash-and-burn agriculture, their informal political organization, and such folkways as cannibalism.

Reading III

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first modern Europeans to tempt fate on the unknown Atlantic Ocean. Under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, they explored the west and then the east coasts of Africa and eventually discovered a route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. In 1500 a Portuguese captain named Cabral stumbled across Brazil when his ship was blown off course by a storm. A Portuguese claim to the territory had already been established by the Treaty of Tordessillas (1494) which divided lands recently discovered between Spain and Portugal.

The Portuguese had to compete with the Dutch, the Spanish, the French, and the English for colonies in the New World. They successfully defended their outpost against attacks throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By 1700, they had firm control of the largest single colony in the Western Hemisphere.

Though other Europeans have since migrated to Brazil, the country is still known as Portuguese America. The official language is Portuguese and the ruling elite has Portuguese blood. Reading III describes the kind of people who came from Portugal to colonize Brazil. As you read the selection, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What adjectives would you use to describe the Portuguese? What characteristics of the Portuguese distinguished them from other Europeans?
2. How would the characteristics of the Portuguese influence their relations with the Indians? With the Africans they imported as slaves?
3. How would you compare the culture of the Portuguese with that of the native Indian? What implications does this comparison have for relations between the two groups in Brazil?
4. Which of the four social processes--amalgamation, assimilation, accommodation, or extermination--do you think would take place between the Portuguese and the Indians?

THE PORTUGUESE BACKGROUND *

Eight years after Columbus' first voyage to the New World, a Portuguese captain landed on the coast of Brazil and claimed the land in the name of their king. For thirty-three years, the Portuguese king took little interest in his distant colony; the merchants of his country were more interested in exploiting the rich trade of India and Africa. In 1533, however, King John III began to grant large tracts of Brazilian land to Portuguese noblemen. The King made the titles to the land hereditary to encourage nobles to colonize the land without asking for funds from the royal treasury.

King John's decision helped to produce a pattern of colonization which was different from either the English or the Spanish system. In the midst of fundamental economic changes and bitter religious differences among Anglicans, Puritans, Separatists, and Catholics, England contained thousands of families prepared to move intact to the New World. They were organized and financed by trading companies much like the famous British East India Company which opened up India to British trade after 1600. Comparatively few English noblemen came to her American colonies. The colonies which later became the United States were settled largely by commoners who came as families and tried to reconstruct English society on American soil.

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* By John M. Good.

Spain was thinly populated. All of her citizens, except the Moors and the Jews, neither of whom were permitted to settle in the colonies, were Catholic. Only a group of restless nobles, many of them impoverished, had reason to emigrate. Trained in the arts of war, these petty nobles swelled the ranks of the conquering Spanish armies long enough to make sufficient money to return home and establish themselves on the land.

The Portuguese, in contrast to the Spanish, came to stay. They established sugar plantations and sugar mills to feed the market in the mother country. In contrast to England, Portugal sent noblemen instead of merchants, craftsmen, and yeomen farmers to populate her colony. The nobles nearly always brought their entire family with them. In addition, they recruited other families from Portugal to join them in settling the land. Generally these families claimed no titles of nobility, but occasionally impoverished nobles would join the leader of an expedition in hopes of regaining their lost fortunes in the untamed New World.

Neither the Portuguese nobles nor the commoners they recruited were numerous enough to tend the fields and man the sugar mills of the new colony. Raising sugar and other staple crops requires thousands of strong backs. Portugal's sparse population could not provide them, nor were the families which did emigrate willing to spend long hours in the field under the tropic sun. Inevitably new sources of labor had to be found, and the laborers would eventually be forced to work out ways to live near the Portuguese who employed them.

What kind of people were the Portuguese who settled Brazil? According to Gilberto Fryere, Brazil's most famed sociologist, the Portuguese, more than any other European people, were a blend of many cultures and races. Since Portugal itself stands between Africa and Europe, she was subject to the influences of both continents. Christian Europeans and Moslem Moors fought many battles on Portuguese soil. When they had finished fighting, the two groups became assimilated in Portuguese culture. Moreover, different races mingled in Portugal. Dark-skinned Africans shared the country with light-skinned northern Europeans and North African Semites.

Because Portugal's location subjected her to many different kinds of racial and cultural influences, the Portuguese people developed the ability to adapt easily to new environments. Mixing with dark-skinned races bothered them less than it did northern Europeans. Indeed, many Portuguese were mulattos, the offspring of light and dark-skinned parents. But although they felt more comfortable with people of a darker color than other Europeans, the Portuguese still did not consider dark Africans their equals. Portugal was one of the first European countries to take Africans as slaves. Even before Columbus sailed for America, they had imported natives of Guinea and Ghana to work as slaves on their estates.

Fryere also believes that the aristocratic nature of Portuguese colonization was very important in shaping the culture of Brazil. Portuguese noblemen had no thought of abandoning their aristocratic style of life in the New World. Old

World culture, paintings, furnishings, architecture, music, and literature accompanied the settlers across the Atlantic. The Portuguese families who emigrated to the New World intended to live on their landed estates much as they had in Portugal. They would do no manual labor. They would enjoy the refinements of life because someone else labored for them. They would rule over the land the king had given them in the same way they had ruled in Europe. They would see that distinctions between upper class aristocrat and lower class laborer were always maintained. The two classes would not mix socially, and lower class Brazilians could expect that entrance into the upper class would be just as difficult in the New World as it was in the Old.

As part of the aristocratic atmosphere, the Portuguese also established a patriarchal society; that is, a society in which the male, particularly the eldest male in the household, dominated the rest of the family. Women were subjected to the rule of their husbands. They were confined to the house and allowed to associate only with other women, their male relatives, their children, and their husbands. They must never be caught in the company of a man unless another woman, a brother, or their husband was along. On the other hand, men enjoyed great freedom. Not only could they go anywhere and do anything they pleased, but they were never condemned if they were unfaithful to their wives. As a consequence, many of the Portuguese men mated with the Indians or their African slave women to produce mulatto children.

The Portuguese patriarchal society benefitted the children of these unions, however. The Portuguese father of an Indian or African woman's child accepted responsibility for raising it. Often, these children would play and go to school with the legitimate children of his Portuguese wife. Contact between the mulatto children and white children was quite common, and when they grew up, mulattos and whites occasionally married. As a result, the same blending of races and cultures that had gone on in Portugal continued in the New World.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the offspring of white and dark-skinned unions outnumbered those who did not have mixed blood. This blending of races tended to make class lines somewhat more fluid. The son of a slave woman and white father could go far in Brazilian society. For example, João Fernandes Veira, the son of a mulatto woman, rose to become a wealthy sugar planter, a leader in a war against the Dutch, and eventually, governor of Angola.

But such men as Veira were the exception. The Portuguese aristocrats would admit very few men of humble birth into their ranks. Moreover, they did not believe in equality of races. Despite the care Portuguese fathers showed to the children they had by dark-skinned women, the Europeans still regarded them as inferior.

After all, the Portuguese had come from a continent that was beginning to dominate the entire globe. When Marco Polo had traveled to China in the thirteenth century, he had found a civilization far more advanced than his own. But when the Portuguese arrived in China in the sixteenth century, the same civilization seemed woefully behind the times. The Portuguese had mastered the art of navigation and they had developed instruments that guided them through the treacherous waters of unknown seas. Moreover, they had learned new uses for that Chinese invention, gunpowder. The Chinese had made firecrackers with it;

the Portuguese made guns. Small wonder, then, that the Portuguese, with an advanced technology, a growing economy, and a powerful government, should consider themselves superior to the peoples of Africa and South America.

The Portuguese came to Brazil, proud of their European heritage, to dominate the land. European culture was to be transported to America. The same values, the same economic and political structure, and the same social system that the settlers knew in Europe was to become the basis of society in the New World. Europeans would direct the affairs of the colony; the native Indian and the imported African would have to do their bidding. European ideas of class would dominate the social structure. The white man was to be a man of leisure, the dark man his slave. A man's birth determined his social class. Very few would be able to make the difficult climb up the social ladder.

Though the Portuguese attempted to maintain their European traditions in America, conditions in the New World were different. The Portuguese learned that they could not transport their whole culture to Brazil. Where in Europe the nobleman supervised a medieval manor, selling whatever produce he happened to have in surplus, in Brazil he became a commercial planter, purposely growing one crop, sugar, for export to Europe. The nobleman had to adopt a new style of life. He had to learn to run his plantation as a business. He had to learn efficient management practices. Moreover, the development of commercial agriculture left the door open for a man of talent to rise in society. If he were able, even a mulatto could earn high social status by making his farm an efficient productive organization. The Portuguese nobleman had to learn to accept a more fluid social structure than he had known in Europe.

The Portuguese have placed their particular stamp on Brazil, but Brazil has also changed the nature of the Portuguese. The interaction between the land and the men has fundamentally shaped modern Brazil. The Empire of the South Atlantic owes much to those who colonized it first.

Reading IV

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE INDIAN

Everywhere they went in America, Europeans encountered the native Indian tribes. In some cases, the Europeans exterminated the red man; whole nations of Indians who once inhabited the eastern part of the United States have vanished from the face of the earth. Most of the time, the two groups worked out various forms of accommodation. In the United States, the federal government has set aside reservations in order to separate the remaining Indians from white men. On the reservation, the Indian rarely comes into contact with a white man, and conflict between the two groups is thereby diminished. In other instances, the Indians and immigrant Europeans have become assimilated. In parts of Mexico, Spaniards intermarried with the Indians and an amalgamated culture developed.

A number of factors help to determine what will happen when people from two different societies are thrown together. If the two societies have much in common, the process of assimilation may take place with only minor disturbances Two drastically different societies, however, may clash violently from the very beginning. Hence, a student looking at an instance of culture contact ought to analyze the two cultures to determine how similar or different they are. Analytical questions drawn from sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and geography will aid in this analysis.

In Brazil, the Portuguese came into contact with primitive Indians who cultivat a small piece of land until the soil was exhausted and then moved on. The history of the relations between these two groups is explained in Reading IV. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. Did the Indians change their living patterns as a result of contact with the Portuguese? What different things happened to the Indians after they encountered the Europeans?

2. What factors shaped relations between the Portuguese and the Indians? What effect did slavery have? What effect did the government have? What effect did the church have?

3. Which social process--extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation--characterized the relations between Portuguese and Indians in Brazil? Did only one of these social processes take place, or did they all take place in some form?

4. How did contact between the Indian and the Portuguese compare with contact between white men and Indians in the United States?

THE INDIAN IN BRAZIL *

* From W. L. Schurz, Brazil, the Infinite Country, (New York: Dutton & Co., 1961) 81-85 passim.

Schurz states that the Brazilian Indians have been left to themselves, for the most part. The Portuguese found that they could not use them as a labor suppl and as a result, little contact between Indian and European has been maintaine Nonetheless, there is some evidence of Portuguese-Indian amalgamation, most notably by the caboclos or offspring of Portuguese-Indian mating.

Reading V

THE AFRICAN

When the Indians proved to be unreliable laborers on Brazilian plantations, Portuguese planters began to import Negroes from across the Atlantic. The Portuguese had begun bringing African slaves into the mother country if the fifteenth century. They sent the first slaves to Brazil in the middle of the sixteenth century. By 1585 over 3,000 Africans lived in Bahia province alone.

Africans made much better slaves than Indians. Given a small opportunity, an Indian could always escape and rejoin his tribe in the forest. Hence, he was unreliable. But even Indians who did not try to escape were inferior to the Negroes as slaves. Part of the explanation can be found in a comparison of the cultures of the Negro and the Indian.

The Africans came from a culture far different from that of the Brazilian Indian. Far from being the savages nineteenth century missionaries claimed they were, the Africans had developed sophisticated political, economic, and social systems. Reading V describes the cultures of West Africa where the Portuguese obtained their slaves. As you read this account, consider the following questions.

1. How would you describe the political, social, and economic systems of West Africa? How do they compare with those of the Indians of Brazil?

2. Which culture, African or Indian, most resembled the culture of the Portuguese planters? What influence would cultural similarity or difference have on whether Africans or Indians would make better slaves?

3. What do you think would be the Portuguese attitude toward the people of West Africa?

4. Which of the social processes--amalgamation, assimilation, accommodation, or extermination--would be most likely to take place between the Portuguese and the Africans?

THE CULTURE OF THE NEGRO IN AFRICA *

Europeans set up compounds along the west coast of Africa to assemble the slaves they exported to the New World. Their slave ships loaded human cargo from as far north as modern Guinea and as far south as Angola. For the most part the Europeans obtained their slaves from other Africans who raided the interior to capture men, women, and children of more docile tribes. The captives would be roped together in a chain of ten to twenty persons and force-marched to the coast where they were herded into a compound to await a slaver from Europe.

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* By John M. Good

The Africans had developed a number of traditions that generally prevailed throughout the entire west coast. Far from being primitive and savage, as western writers have supposed, the Africans had developed a sophisticated culture before the first Europeans arrived. Indeed, the Africans were far more like Europeans than they were like the Indians. European traders even carried on diplomatic and commercial relations with the tribes of Africa in much the same way they did with other European powers.

Politically, the Africans who lived near the coast had developed well organized governments to conduct their affairs. In many ways the governments resembled the medieval European feudal system. In the kingdom of the Mani-Congo, lesser chiefs owed loyalty to greater chiefs, and the greater chiefs paid tribute to the Mani-Congo himself, just as in medieval Europe knights owed allegiance to their lord and the lords to their king. If the Mani-Congo or one of the great chiefs wished to go to war, he called upon his vassals, the lower chieftains, to come with their own vassals equipped for battle. According to seventeenth century reports from Portuguese merchants, the Mani-Congo could raise some eighty thousand men in this manner. As was the practice in Europe, those who swore allegiance and gave military service received "fiefs" or tracts of land from the Mani-Congo or their lord.

This feudal structure, however, had little influence on the villages where the local government had far more meaning. It was generally headed by the "chief's man" or vassal of the lord. The chief's men were usually chosen because they had local power before the village had been absorbed in a bigger political unit. In fact, the villagers commonly referred to the head man as "king" when they introduced him to Europeans to indicate the respect they gave him. In the village the heads of the various households held absolute power over their families and reported to the village headman. They were the link between the feudal government and the people.

The African governments had the same functions as European governments of the day. For example, they administered justice in courts and collected taxes from their subjects to maintain the courts. The laws which they used as guides for making decisions were never written down but were passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. Judicial decisions were made on the basis of testimony from the interested parties or by subjecting the defendant to an ordeal to prove his guilt or innocence. The Europeans who came to Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries understood the system readily.

In one respect, however, African governments differed markedly from European political systems; they were far more democratic. According to one Portuguese report from the kingdom of the Mani-Congo, "The kings defer to and flatter their counsellors: these are they who elevate a king to the throne and also cast him down." Evidently, kings were subject to the popular will. They had to have the endorsement of the tribal chieftains of their country. In medieval Europe kings could not claim the throne until they had achieved the consent of the nobles of the realm, but by the eleventh century gaining this consent was a mere formality. Apparently in the kingdom of the Mani-Congo, the assent of the chiefs counted for much more.

The west African economy was based on specialization of production, the division of labor, and trade. Each family had a role in the economy--handicrafts, farming, trade--and within the family, each person had his own economic task to perform. In the villages, a number of handicrafts grew up so that one family specialized in the manufacture of textiles, another made pottery, a third worked with iron and so forth. Many of the craftsmen were highly skilled at their trades.

Agriculture was the basis of the economy. Unlike the Brazilian Indians who moved from one plot to another as soil became exhausted, the Africans farmed the same land for generations. Labor in the fields was organized cooperatively. Land belonged to the entire village, not to individual families, although each family got the crops from the plot which it tilled. The head man of the village decided what to plant and where to plant it and supervised the work in the fields. Rich soil and plentiful rainfall compensated in part for the primitive technology of the farmers who relied primarily on tools much like our modern hoe for most of the work on the land.

A brisk trade concentrated largely in the hands of women in the villages bound the economy together. The west African people developed money in the form of shells from a marine creature called the coury. Most of these shells came from an island off the Angola coast which was guarded against interlopers by a band of fierce warriors. All these economic institutions--handicraft, farming, and trade--seemed somewhat familiar to Europeans.

The chiefs and kings owned large numbers of slaves. In addition to exploiting this labor, Africans traded slaves to Europeans for gunpowder, guns and European cloth, or sometimes sacrificed them to ancestors and gods. Dahomey slaves were used on plantations much as they were in America. The ruler, demanding as much return from his estates as possible, sent thousands of his captives to work on them.

Since so much of the economic system depended upon family ties, kinship was a very important aspect of the social structure of west African peoples. Family relationships were generally traced through the male side of the family. When a female married, she lost her identification with her parents and became a member of her husband's family. Her husband followed orders from his father or his oldest brother until he became the head of the household when his older brothers died. All members of the family helped carry on the family occupation whether it was farming or handicrafts.

Most African peoples followed the practice of polygamy; men generally took more than one wife. Marriage involved far maore than the affection between the boy and the girl; it involved the social and economic position of the two families as well. If a girl married well, it meant that her family might enjoy more social prestige. If a boy married a rich girl, his family gained more economic comfort. Hence parents arranged marriages.

This practice did not mean, however, that affection never entered marriages. In the first place, the parents often considered the wishes of their children in choosing their mates. After all, it was in the best interest of family harmony that the couple would be happy together. Since all sons and daughters-in-law shared the same living quarters, one couple who fought constantly would cause considerable disturbance. In addition, runaway marriages were acceptable in many tribes, particularly in Dahomey. If a couple wished to marry against the wishes of their families, they ran away, and upon their return, were accepted as man and wife by the entire group, even though neither of their families would accept them into the household.

The typical household in the west African countries was a compound that housed the entire family--the male head and his wives, their sons and their wives, and their sons' children. The compound was a group of houses and buildings where work was carried on, all contained within a wall or a hedge that surrounded them. The head of the household and all of the other adult males had his own hut, to which each wife came periodically. In addition, each wife had her own permanent hut where she lived with her children. She would make periodic visits to her husband and live with him for a time until she became pregnant. Then she would not visit her husband again until the child was weaned. Since children lived in the mother's hut, the tie between child and mother was more firm than the link between child and father.

Negro slaves were uprooted from the culture by the millions and transported to the New World. There they were put to work on plantations raising staple crops such as sugar for export. Some of them became field hands using sample tools to raise one crop. Others, particularly women, became house servants. Still more were trained as artisans to make the clothes and tools and build houses and barns. Accustomed to the institution of slavery and an ocean removed from their homeland, they made excellent slaves, far better than the more primitive Indians who peopled the New World before the coming of the white man.

Reading VI

MASTER AND SLAVE

Slavery has existed in some form for thousands of years. The Egyptian pharoahs enslaved thousands of their subjects to work on the pyramids. Greeks and Romans forced their captives to labor in fields, factories, and mines. In Europe, serfdom largely replaced slavery during the Middle Ages. When America was discovered, only Spain and Portugal counted a large number of slaves in their populations. But the Europeans who discovered the New World learned that the soil would yield rich harvests of tobacco, cotton, and sugar if large gangs of laborers could be obtained to work it. Slavery gained a new lease on life.

Slavery in the British colonies differed from slavery in the Spanish and Portuguese lands. In North America and the British West Indies, the slave was a chattel, a piece of property that could be bought or sold just like a table or a chair. No matter that the slave might have a wife or children, if his master believed he could make a profit by selling only the father and not the rest of the family, the family was split up.

Slavery in the Latin American countries was far less harsh, as the following reading by Donald Pierson makes clear. Donald Pierson is an American scholar who has studied the history of the Negro in Brazil's Bahia province. The following selection is taken from his chapter on slavery. As you read, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What was the role of the African slave in Brazil? What functions did he perform?
2. What status was given to the African slave in relation to his master? Could the slave change his status? How?
3. What norms governed contact between masters and slaves? What norms governed contact between slave masters and freed slaves?
4. Which of the social processes probably will grow out of this form of slavery, assimilation or accommodation? Why?

THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY *

* From Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil, A Study of Race Contact at Bahia*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1942) 78-91 *passim*.

Pierson's major thesis is that relations between master and slave in Brazil were far less harsh and far more personal than in the United States. The result was a greater acceptance of the Negro as a man rather than as a piece of property. As Pierson states, Brazilian masters believed they owned the Negro's labor but not his body.

Reading VII

CHURCH, STATE, AND SLAVERY

Slavery lasted far longer in Brazil than it did in the United States. The first slaves were imported at least sixty years before the Virginia colonists accepted their first shipment in 1609. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, twenty-five years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

On the other hand, the Church and the State took far more interest in reducing the harshness of slavery in Brazil than they did in the United States. Slave law was left to the individual southern states before the Civil War. In every case, the states defined a slave as a piece of property that could be bought or sold. Since the slave was a piece of property he had no human rights. He could not buy his freedom, he could not testify in court against his master if he were treated harshly, and he was not allowed to prevent his master from breaking up his family. Many states passed laws making it a crime to teach Negroes to read. At the same time, no state in the United States South passed laws designed to prevent a master from treating his slaves cruelly.

In Brazil the situation was far different. Brazil was a Roman Catholic country and the Church had great influence over the Portuguese. The government also took many steps to reduce harsh treatment of slaves. Reading VII, written by Frank Tannenbaum, explains the influence Church and State had on the institution of slavery in Brazil. Consider the following questions as you read:

1. How did the Church influence the institution of slavery in Brazil? What advantages did the Brazilian Negro enjoy over his North American counterpart because of the influence of the Church?

2. What laws did the Brazilian government pass to regulate slavery? What advantages did these laws give to the Brazilian slave? Did these laws treat the Negro as a man or as a piece of property?

3. What effect do you think the influence of Church and State had on the relationships between master and slave as recorded in Reading VI?

4. Did the influence of Church and State bring about accommodation or assimilation of the races in Brazil? What effect would Church and State regulations of slavery have on the attitudes of Brazilians after slavery was abolished?

SLAVERY IN BRAZIL *

* From Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen, *The Negro in the Americas*, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf: 1946) 53-61, 90-9[illegible], *passim.*

Tannenbaum shows how the state and the church moderated the harshness of slavery. These two institutions protected the slave from arbitrary punishments doled out by his master, provided for his education and his conversion to Christianity, and established methods whereby a slave could purchase his freedom.

RACE RELATIONS IN MODERN BRAZIL

Stating the Issue

The history of the Negro in Brazil resembles in many respects his history in the United States. He was imported from the same areas in Africa that provided the Negroes to work on southern plantations. Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth centuries, most Negroes retained their status as the property of their owners. After emancipation, they found that most of the prestigious positions in society were closed to them.

But as we have seen, Brazilian slavery differed from slavery in the United States. Church and State worked together to soften its harshness; masters could be punished for mistreating their slaves. Moreover, a Brazilian slave could obtain his freedom by working for it himself. In the United States, freedom was granted the Negro only when his master wished to grant it. The North American slave could do nothing himself to end his miserable lot. In Brazil, relations between master and slave were also somewhat more personal. Brazilian masters rarely failed to recognize that their bondsmen were human beings. In contrast, the prevailing attitude among planters in the United States was far more harsh.

The past of the Negro in Brazil differs from his past in the United States. His past has created a different pattern of race relations in modern Brazil. Negroes and whites marry more frequently in Brazil than they do in the United States. In Brazil, mixed bloods are not automatically branded as Negroes as they are in this country. At the same time, the Negro is not accepted as a full equal of whites in Brazilian society. In most cases, the lower rungs of the social ladder are occupied by Negroes; very few find that they can climb to the top.

What is the status of the preto, or black man, in Brazil today? What will be his future? The readings in this chapter of the unit concentrate on these questions. They will provide you with evidence to answer a variety of questions: "Do Brazilians consider the Negro to be biologically inferior, or do they believe that his status is due to the cultural handicaps of slavery?" "Is Brazilian society an amalgamation of the races, have the races assimilated, or have Brazilians merely worked out a pattern for accommodation?" "What will happen in the future? Will amalgamation, assimilation, or accommodation of the races take place?"

Reading VIII

THE MODERN SUGAR PLANTATION

The Africans were imported to Brazil to work as slaves on the sugar plantations. In the early years of the nineteenth century, many of the sugar plantations began to fail because of overproduction. Manufacturing techniques had improved and new cane fields were planted in Louisiana, all adding to the quantity of sugar available for the world market. With the failure of the sugar plantations, many slaves were set free to make their own way in the world.

Some of the plantations continue producing sugar to the present day. They are in the province of Bahia, the old sugar capital of Brazil. Except that freemen and not slaves work in the fields and in the mill, the organization of the plantations still resembles the patterns that existed before emancipation. The plantations are owned mostly by descendants of the first Portuguese owners. Generally the owners are pure-blood whites or brancos. The workers on the plantation are generally Negroes or mulattoes. The supervisors or overseers are generally mulattoes or whites.

Reading VIII is a detailed study of the life on one of these plantations in the Vila Reconcavo district of Bahia province. It was written by Harry William Hutchinson, a sociologist who was born in the United States. As you read his description of the plantation, use the following questions as guides.

1. How has the life of the Negro changed on the plantation since emancipation? What are his relationships with the owner of the plantation? What are his relationships with the supervisors?
2. Is there any chance that a Negro can rise in the social structure while living on a plantation? If so, how can he do it and how far can he rise?
3. What is the economic status of the workers on the plantation? Are they better off as workers than they were as slaves?
4. What are the chances for racial amalgamation on the plantation? What are the chances for assimilation?

A PLANTATION IN BAHIA PROVINCE *

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* From Harry William Hutchinson, Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil, (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press: 1957) 49-57 passim.

Hutchinson's description of the modern plantation depicts a continuation of the old paternalism of the slave plantation. The major changes seem to be in the opportunities for social mobility - persons of dark skin, if talented, are able to become managers of the plantation, though they do not become owners.

Reading IX

THE CITY SLUM

São Paolo is one of the largest and most progressive cities in the western hemisphere. It is the center of Brazilian industry. As industrialism caught hold, more and more Brazilians moved to the city to take part in the boom. But many come only to be disappointed. The majority of people, mostly Negroes and mulattoes, come from the rural areas of Brazil where they have not learned the skills necessary to work in modern factories. Moreover, they have had little or no formal education and cannot read. Almost every industry in São Paolo refuses to hire anyone who is illiterate. Out of work and having no money, these unfortunates go to live in the favela, or slums.

A favela is not like the slums of North American cities. There the people live in dilapidated tenement houses erected by landlords in the late nineteenth century, or they live in once proud mansions now converted to tiny apartments that hold large families. In the favela, no such ready-made dwellings exist. The favelados, as they are called, must collect or steal wood from somewhere and build their own shacks. The favela, then, is a collection of crude huts housing relatively large families.

In recent years, the best selling book in Brazil was the diary of a favelado, Carolina Maria de Jesus. A chance meeting with a newspaperman resulted in the publication of her diary in newspapers, magazines, and finally as a book. Reading IX is composed of excerpts from the diary. As you read of Carolina Maria de Jesus' experiences, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What groups of people live in the favela?
2. Do the Negroes who live in the favela seem to be there because of their race? Is some other reason the cause of their misery?
3. How could one escape the favela? Can a Negro get out, even if he wants to?
4. What implications does the favela have for race relations in Brazil? Does amalgamation or assimilation take place in the favela?

LIFE IN THE FAVELA *

* From Carolina Maria de Jesus, Child of the Dark, The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus, David St. Clair, trans. (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.: 1962) 37-74 passim.

Carolina Maria de Jesus's diary vividly portrays the filth, squalor, and misery of the Brazilian favela or slum. Her personal record of living in the favela tells of disease, starvation, violence, and amoral behavior.

Reading X

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BRAZIL

In all societies men are divided into a number of classes. Individuals are often referred to as being "in the upper class," "the middle class," "the working class," "the lower class," or other similar categories. A class is a broad group of men who share many things in common, such as their role in the economy, their values, the prestige given them by others, and the amount of education they have had. Each class has a relative ranking on a social scale, as the terms "upper class," "middle class," and "lower class" imply. In some societies movement from a lower class to a higher class is relatively easy. In others it is very difficult.

In Brazil, as in other countries, the nature and composition of the classes has undergone a great change in the twentieth century. The coming of industrialization has remolded the old class structure as new occupations have been created. The reshaping of this old class structure carries many implications for the pretos (blacks) and pardos (mulattoes) of Brazil. As new requirements were established for membership in social classes and as new values replaced the values of the old social structure, the position of the dark-skinned peoples of Brazil changed. In the nineteenth century, a Negro slave who earned his emancipation took his place in the working class. The upper classes were not open to him.

Reading X explains the social structure of modern Brazil. It was written by Charles Wagley, an American-born scholar who has lived in Brazil for many years. As you read his description, consider the following questions.

1. How has the social structure of Brazil changed in the twentieth century? What has brought about this change? What new classes have been added? What old classes have diminished in importance?
2. What distinguishes each class from the others? How do the values of the various classes differ? What degree of prestige is given to each class? What occupations fall in each class?
3. What characterizes the relationships between the various classes in Brazil? How do members of the upper class treat members of the lower classes? How do they treat members of the new middle class?

BRAZILIAN SOCIAL CLASSES *

* From Charles Wagley, An Introduction to Brazil, (New York: Columbia University Press: 1963) 102-130 passim.

Wagley defines six classes in Brazil - the traditional upper class, the traditional lower class, the rural proletariat, the urban lower class, the new middle class, and the new upper class. He states that class distinctions depend upon wealth, birth, education and race, and that they are far more carefully defined than in the United States.

Reading XI

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

The beliefs people hold about race greatly influence their attitudes toward their fellow men. For example, if white men believe that Negroes are naturally inferior, they may adopt either a paternalistic attitude or a degrading attitude toward individual members of the Negro race. If Negroes believe that they are inferior to white men, they will be likely to act humbly in the presence of men who have light skin.

Beliefs about race vary from country to country. In the United States, for instance, both whites and Negroes consider a person with one Negro parent to be a member of the Negro race. In Brazil, on the other hand, one white parent changes a preto or black to a pardo or mulatto.

Beliefs such as these carry important implications for the social processes that reduce conflict between races. If white people consider Negroes inferior, there is little chance that assimilation or amalgamation can take place. If Negroes are believed to be equal, however, the chances are better that the two races will mix more readily.

Reading XI contains a sample of Brazilian beliefs about race. The statements included in the reading were collected in 1942 by Donald Pierson, an American sociologist. Pierson studied the racial situation in Bahia province of Brazil, the province where the largest number of pretos live. Of course Pierson could not interview everyone in Bahia, and even in his chapter on race ideology he could not include all of the statements he collected for his study. He had to choose those statements he considered most representative. As you read these statements, consider the following questions.

1. How could you arrange these statements about race into categories? How would you organize your categories in order to arrive at a general idea of racial beliefs in Bahia?

2. What general hypothesis can you make about racial beliefs in Bahia province? What beliefs do most of the statements seem to have in common?

3. What implications do these beliefs about race carry for the social processes that will go on in Brazil? Do these beliefs tend to promote accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation?

4. What sort of evidence would you need to validate hypotheses developed from this sample of statements? How might Pierson's frame of reference influence his selection of statements?

BELIEFS ABOUT RACE IN BAHIA *

* All of the statements in this reading are taken from Chapter VIII, "Race Ideology and Racial Attitudes" in Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, A Study of Race Contact in Bahia, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1942) 213-233.

The reading consists of statements about race made by all types of Brazilians. The short statements reveal the attitudes and stereotypes different Brazilians hold of Negroes and mulattos in Bahia province.

Reading XII

WHERE IS BRAZIL GOING? SOME HYPOTHESES

When two or more racial groups come into contact, at least one of four basic social processes goes on to reduce conflict between them. At one extreme, the most powerful group may exterminate the other groups altogether. If the groups are to live together, however, they may work out some form of accommodation in which the two groups do not intermingle but resolve their differences by severely limiting the amount of contact between them. In most forms of accommodation, one group remains dominant and the others must do its bidding. The groups may also begin to assimilate. While each group maintains its own identity in assimilation, the members of the various groups mingle freely. They work at the same types of jobs, go to the same social functions, and belong to the same organizations. Finally, the groups may actually amalgamate. Through intermarriage the various characteristics that distinguish one group from the other begin to disappear and the two separate groups actually become one.

Which of these social processes is going on in Brazil? In 1942, Donald Pierson, an American sociologist, formulated 25 hypotheses about the relations between the different racial groups. These hypotheses were based on his study of the history of race contact in Bahia province, the ideas and attitudes of the Brazilian people, and the trends that were apparent before the second World War. Reading XII lists Pierson's hypotheses. Readings XIII-XVI will present four case studies of race relations in modern Brazil which you can use to test them. As you consider Pierson's hypotheses, keep the following questions in mind.

1. Does the evidence you have already seen in Readings VII-XI support any of Pierson's hypotheses? Does the evidence contradict any of them?
2. What analytical questions would you ask of the four case studies in order to test Pierson's hypotheses? What evidence will you be looking for in the case studies?
3. Do Pierson's hypotheses indicate that the races in Brazil have worked out a system of accommodation? That they have begun to assimilate? That they have begun to amalgamate?
4. Pierson's hypotheses are based on his study of Bahia province. Are there conditions elsewhere in Brazil that might change the nature of Pierson's hypotheses?

BLACK AND WHITE IN BAHIA *

* From Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, A Study of Race Contact in Bahia, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) 345-350.

Pierson states 25 hypotheses based upon his research in Bahia. The general gist of the hypotheses are that class distinctions are more important than racial distinctions, and that Brazil is heading for an amalgamated culture.

Reading XIII

CASE STUDY #1 - VILA RECÔNCAVO

Vila Recôncavo, our first case study, is situated on the northeast coast of Brazil near the city of Salvador, the capital of the province of Bahia. The town lies in the heart of the sugar country where Negro slaves once labored on plantations. As a consequence, Negroes and mulattoes make up a larger proportion of the population in Vila Recôncavo than they do in other parts of Brazil. Out of 1400 people, only 28 "pure" whites could be identified in the town.

As in all communities, the people of Vila Recôncavo are divided into several classes. A class is a broad group of individuals who have many things in common. Classes are generally arranged in a hierarchy, some of them being designated as higher than others. Sociologists determine what classes exist in a community by asking a number of people to rank many individuals according to where they belong on the social scale. Sociologists have found that the people in a community basically agree about how specific individuals should be classified on the social ladder. Several factors enter into how people rank a given individual, among them the amount of wealth he has, the family into which he was born, the people with whom he associates, the kind of education he has had, and where he lives in relation to others in the community.

The class system in any community is often related to the racial situation. In the United States, for example, most communities in which both whites and Negroes live have two social structures, one for the whites and one for the Negroes. At the same time, both races recognize that Negroes may not move into the white classes; a highly trained Negro doctor, for example, would not be ranked in the same class with white doctors. In fact, many white people would rank the Negro doctor lower than most other white men.

Race and class are not related in the same way in rural Brazil, as the following case study points out. Harry W. Hutchinson, the scholar who studied race and class in Vila Recôncavo, discovered that four classes existed in the town. In this study he calls them "the white aristocracy," the local upper class, the local middle class, and the local lower class. He relates this class system to the various racial groups, the "pure" whites, called branco or branco da terra; the mulattoes, called pardo, mulato, mestiço, and moreno; and those with darkest skins, called preto. As you read the case study, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What factors seem to be the most important in determining a person's class in Vila Recôncavo? How important is race in determining what class a man is in?

2. How does one rise in the class structure? What would a man have to do to move from the local middle class to the local upper class? Would a man's race determine whether or not he could move up the social ladder?

3. Which of Pierson's hypotheses can be supported by the evidence in the case study? Which hypotheses should be rejected or modified?

4. Which of the basic social processes--extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation--seems to be going on in Vila Recôncavo?

RACE RELATIONS IN VILA RECÔNCAVO *

* From Harry W. Hutchinson, "Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Recôncavo" in Race and Class in Rural Brazil, Charles Wagley, ed. (New York: UNESCO International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 1963) 27-45 passim.

Hutchinson's study of class and race in Vila Recôncavo indicates that race is only one of several determinants of class position. The others are wealth, education, and family. Accordingly, Negroes and mulattos can rise on the social scale, but Negroes tend to populate the lower classes while whites tend to populate the upper classes.

Reading XIV

CASE STUDY #2 - MINAS VELHAS

Like Vila Recôncavo, Minas Velhas is a town of about 1500 people located in the province of Bahia. There the similarity ends, however. During the gold rush days of the nineteenth century, the community was a mining town. Recently the mines have become exhausted, and the townsmen have turned to producing handicrafts for the livelihood. Because sugar was never grown in the area, Minas Velhas never acquired a large Negro population. Today, pretos and pardos make up only 54 per cent of the population, in contrast to Vila Recôncavo where better than 90 per cent of the inhabitants have Negro ancestors.

In all communities where white and dark races live, each group holds certain stereotypes about the other. A stereotype is the mental image people have of members of a particular group. For example, many people believe that college professors are absent-minded, that they are unrealistic, and that they "walk around with their head in the clouds." This mental image of professors keeps many people from considering their programs for political and social reform.

Because stereotypes play such an important part in race relations, sociologists try to find out what images one group holds of another. Marvin Harris, who conducted this case study in Minas Velhas, interviewed a large number of white people to find out what their mental image of the pretos and pardos was. He also gave members of all racial groups in Minas Velhas pictures of white, mulatto, and Negro people and asked them to indicate which was the most beautiful, the most intelligent, the most industrious, and so forth. From the answers to these questions, Harris was able to determine what stereotypes the various groups held of members of other groups. Then he tried to determine how these stereotypes influenced relations between the races in the town.

Reading XIV is a report of Harris' research on stereotypes and its influence on race relations in Minas Velhas. As you read the selection, consider the following questions.

1. What is the stereotype of the Negro in Minas Velhas? Do both whites and Negroes hold the same stereotype? To what degree does stereotype influence race relations in Minas Velhas?

2. Do racial stereotypes influence the class structure of Minas Velhas? Is a Negro doomed to a lower class because of his race?

3. Which of Pierson's hypotheses can be supported by the evidence in this reading? Which hypotheses would have to be rejected or modified?

4. Which of the basic social processes - extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation - seems to be going on in Minas Velhas?

RACE RELATIONS IN MINAS VELHAS *

* From Marvin Harris, "Race Relations in Minas Velhas, A Community in the Mountain Region of Brazil," in Race and Class in Rural Brazil, Charles Wagley, ed. (New York, UNESCO International Documents Service, Columbia University Press: 1963) 51-78 passim.

Harris' study of stereotypes in Minas Velhas revealed that whites hold rather vicious stereotypes of Negroes and mulattos, and that the darker skinned peoples tend to think of themselves as inferior to whites, as well. He also found that these stereotypes do not influence race realtions so much as one would expect; that the stereotypes are far more harsh than the relations between white and Negro.

Reading XV

CASE STUDY #3 - SÃO PAULO

The two previous case studies focused on rural areas of Brazil. In the twentieth century, however, Brazil is becoming more and more urbanized. São Paulo is the fastest growing city in the western hemisphere. The center of Brazil's industry, the city has drawn thousands of people from foreign lands and from the interior of Brazil. As rural emigrants to São Paulo have discovered, the urban environment differs drastically from the rural life they left behind. What effect does this new environment have on race relations?

Finding out about race relations in a large city presents many problems. Because São Paulo is so large, the case study approach used in Vila Recôncavo and Minas Velhas will not work. The authors of these studies lived in the towns for months, interviewed a large number of the residents, and observed the interaction among the various races. They were both observers of the society and participants in it. Clearly these methods could not be used in a city of nearly four million inhabitants.

Then what methods are appropriate? Reading XV discusses two different studies that were made of race relations in Brazil. One is by an American historian, Richard M. Morse, who reported his study in The Journal of Negro History. The other study was made by two sociologists using one of the classic methods of their discipline, the questionnaire. Though neither study gives a complete picture of race relations in São Paulo, each provides a number of insights. As you read the descriptions of these studies, keep the following questions in mind.

1. What are the conclusions of the two studies? Do the conclusions contradict or reinforce each other?

2. Why should attitudes to race differ in rural and urban Brazil? What conditions may help to explain the differences? What role may the presence of middle-class first and second generation European immigrants play in attitudes to race in Brazil's cities?

3. On the basis of the evidence in the two studies, which of Pierson's hypotheses do you think can be supported? Which would have to be rejected or modified?

4. Which of the basic social processes--extermination, accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation--seems to be going on in São Paulo?

RACE RELATIONS IN SÃO PAULO *

São Paulo is Brazil's twentieth century boom town. Everything that characterizes growing industrial cities in North America and Europe takes place in São Paulo. It is the center of finance, the hub of railroads, the heart of Brazilian industry, and the goal of thousands of immigrants. São Paulo grew from a small provincial town to an urban metropolis because it was the major distribution point for Brazilian coffee. Using capital gained from selling coffee, São Paulo business men invested in textiles, factories, oil refineries, cement plants, and steel mills. In addition, business men from the United States, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain have invested large sums in São Paulo industry. The growth of industry created a demand for labor; hence, immigrants from all over Europe, Japan, and the Middle East flocked to São Paulo bringing with them their attitudes to race relations. More recently, increasing numbers of native Brazilians have moved to the city.

The economic growth of São Paulo has created a social structure somewhat like that of European or American cities. The traditional upper class, the old Portuguese families, still exists but its position has been challenged by the rise of a new upper class composed of European immigrants and of Brazilians who have become rich by investing in São Paulo's industry. Industry has also created an urban middle class consisting of white collar workers, professional men, and management people. An urban working class made up of those who man the machines, the blast furnaces, and the oil cracking towers has also developed in the city. Finally, the residents of the _favelas_ make up the urban lower class at the bottom of the social ladder. These people have no steady employment and must eke out a living as best they can, perhaps by selling waste paper like Carolina Maria de Jesus, the author of _Child of the Dark_. The social structure, so different from life in the rural areas, has had a marked effect on race relations.

As elsewhere in Brazil, the lower classes of São Paulo consist mainly of dark-skinned people while the higher classes are made up primarily of light-skinned people. However, people of all races can be found in all classes. Some _pretos_ have been able to climb into the new upper class, but none, of course, has found his way into the traditional upper class of the city. Wealth is the most important criterion for judging a man's class in São Paulo. Even _pretos_ have been able to join upper class clubs, though they are not admitted to those clubs that cater only to the old, upper class elite.

Richard M. Morse, an American historian, states that formal racial segregation has not developed in São Paulo, although most Negroes and mulattoes live in residential areas where no whites live. This residential pattern depends more upon the class one is in than it does upon a person's race. Since _pretos_ and

* **By John M. Good**

pardos make up most of the lower classes, they generally live in lower class neighborhoods. On the other hand, wealthy Negroes have been able to find homes in residential areas that are populated mainly by whites. However, Morse points out that European immigrants have tended to remain separate from all Brazilians, white and Negro alike, and hence, a form of segregation based on ethnic background has developed in the city.

Outwardly, then, São Paulo appears to resemble the rest of Brazil in its racial harmony. Yet Morse's investigation found more race prejudice in São Paulo than in the rural areas of Brazil. He states that white Paulistas (a term meaning a resident of São Paulo) have hostile attitudes to Negroes that do not grow from feelings about social class or economic status. Morse also points out that Negroes have formed associations and published journals designed to agitate for more equal treatment for the dark-skinned people of the city. One of these associations, the Brazilian Negro Front, recruited many members in São Paulo but was unable to thrive in the rural areas of Bahia province. The purpose of the Front was to agitate for equal employment opportunities for the Negroes. In Bahia, economic discrimination presented no real problem, and the organization foundered.

Morse believes that the United Negro Front recognized a serious problem. He cites evidence to indicate that employers did discriminate against Negroes in their hiring practices. Morse believes that a Brazilian novel by Flavio de Campos reveals the stereotype that whites have of the Negro as a worker. From the book he has chosen the following quotation:

> [The Negro domestic] leaves his job for no reason: to vary his life, to find employment elsewhere, to loaf a few days, or to engage in other pursuits, trying out other occupations. He doesn't specialize and improve himself like the white; he only wants variety. ...The white factory worker beats the Negro out because he's more disciplined, more competent and more persevering. 1/

Another indication of discrimination in hiring cited by Morse is a survey of newspaper "help wanted" ads for domestic servants made in December, 1940. Two hundred forty-five of the ads requested white servants, four specified colored, and six ads indicated no preference for either colored or white. In interviews, those who had placed the ads for whites only indicated that the race of a person was very important to them. Thirty of them indicated that they believed Negroes were dishonest, eighteen considered Negroes unclean, fourteen thought that Negroes did not stick to their jobs, seven did not want Negroes in contact with their children, five said that Negroes were disobedient, and four just said that they did not like Negroes. All but twenty-seven of those interviewed indicated that they had a stereotype of the Negro that prevented them from hiring a colored man or woman.

1/ Flavio de Campos, Planalto quoted in Richard M. Morse, "The Negroes in São Paulo," in The Journal of Negro History, XXXVIII, (July, 1953) 301.

Morse also cites another study which indicates that prejudice goes beyond hiring practices. A 1940 poll of 1,088 school children in São Paulo indicated that they opposed inter-racial marriages. The children, who were the sons and daughters of São Paulo's middle class white collar workers and professional men, were asked if they would allow persons of different racial or religious groups to marry into their families. Only six per cent said that they would allow a Japanese to enter the family, five per cent said they would allow a mulatto, four per cent said they would accept a Jew, and only two per cent said that they would accept a Negro.

A more recent study than Morse's reinforces some of his conclusions. Two sociologists, one from the University of Paris and the other from Harvard University, studied middle class attitudes about race in São Paulo. Using a questionnaire devised by a University of São Paulo sociologist, they obtained responses from 580 white students in five different teacher's colleges of the city. The age of those who filled out the questionnaire varied from 15 to 44, but most of those who responded were young, the mean or "average" age being about 20 years. Four hundred eighty-three of the respondents were women while only 97 were men. On the basis of incomplete data, the investigators found the students came overwhelmingly from "middle class" families, only 25 per cent of their fathers worked at jobs where they used their hands. Three hundred eighty-four of the subjects were children of Brazilian parents, 102 had one parent who had migrated from a foreign country, and 85 came from families in which both parents had migrated to Brazil. Of the 384 children who were born of two native parents, 232 had at least one grandparent who was born in a foreign country.

The responses to the questionnaire were analyzed by the sociologists in two ways. First, they figured out the percentage of the students who gave the same answer to each individual question. For example, 91 per cent of all those who responded to the questionnaire replied that Negroes were not clean. In the second analysis, each individual student's questionnaire was totaled to find out how many stereotypes of Negroes he held.

The data revealed that 75 per cent of those who answered the questionnaire accepted 23 or more stereotypes of the Negro. Moreover, all of those who responded accepted some stereotypes. The most widely accepted were that Negroes were unclean, physically unattractive, superstitious, financially irresponsible, immoral, aggressive, and lazy. Over 70 per cent of the respondents agreed that these characteristics could be applied to Negroes. The same stereotypes applied to mulattoes, but in smaller percentages.

However, 90 per cent of the students believed that whites and Negroes should enjoy equal opportunity and over 60 per cent accepted casual relations between whites and Negroes. On the other hand, 62 per cent of the students opposed any intimacy with Negroes beyond simple comradeship and 77 per cent were opposed to intermarriage between the two races. In terms of their actual behavior, the students reported that they generally had very little contact with members of the Negro race. At least 20 per cent of the students indicated that they had had no contact with Negroes at all.

On the basis of these data the authors concluded that race prejudice exists in São Paulo independent of class feelings. Moreover, they concluded that white, middle-class Paulistas do not favor more than casual relations between races, and certainly do not favor intermarriage. At the same time they believe that Negroes should have equal opportunities with whites. Though no formal segregation exists in the town, and though Negroes do find their way up the social ladder, the whites of São Paulo harbor attitudes about the _pretos_ and _pardos_ that may lead to acts of discrimination.

Reading XVI

RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL: A SUMMARY

Brazil has worked out a system of race relations that is unique in the modern world. To members of oppressed races in the United States and other countries, Brazil offers hope that ways can be found to provide equal treatment for all men, regardless of skin color. But is Brazil the racial democracy that it is reputed to be?

The readings in this unit reveal that Brazil is not completely free of race prejudice. Many white Brazilians hold stereotypes of Negroes and mulattoes. The lower classes of Brazilian society tend to consist of men with darker skins. City slums are inhabited almost exclusively by _pardos_ and _prêtos_. On the plantations the black man continues to work for the white owner. Still, all Brazilians, _branco_, _pardo_, and _prêto_ alike, claim that racial discrimination does not exist in the extreme forms in Brazil that it does in other parts of the world.

How much justification is there for this claim? The readings that have preceded this summary provide some evidence for answering this question. This final article summarizes the evidence we have already seen. The article was written by Charles Wagley, the American scholar of Brazil whose work has already appeared in this unit. As you read his discussion of race relations in Brazil, consider the following questions.

1. What is Wagley's hypothesis about race relations in Brazil? Does he believe no racial prejudice exists? Does he believe that the Brazilian claim to racial democracy is largely a myth?

2. Does the evidence in this unit support Wagley's hypotheses about race relations in Brazil? How would you modify his argument on the basis of what you have read?

3. Which of the social processes--extermination, accommodation, assimilation or amalgamation--does Wagley think is going on in Brazil?

4. Could the United States solve its racial problems in the same way that Brazil has? Why or why not?

RACE AND CLASS IN BRAZIL: A SUMMARY *

* From Charles Wagley, _An Introduction to Brazil_, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963) 132-144 _passim._

Wagley's summary of race relations states that racial stereotypes and the class positions of dark-skinned people tend to belie the idea that Brazil is a racial democracy. Nonetheless, he points out that Brazilians do not act on the basis of their stereotypes, that race is only one criteria for classifying people, and that Negroes and mulattos find it easier to climb the social scale than in the United States.

RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

Subject Objectives: To know
that this unit deals with the question, "To what extent does Brazil live up to its reputation as a racial democracy?"
that in the eyes of an American Negro reporter, Brazil does not live up to its reputation.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select passages that reveal the unstated assumptions or frame of reference of the author of the reading.
Analysis of Relationships (4.20) - To indicate the evidence the author uses to support his conclusions.
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions drawn from sociology to organize the data in the reading.

Materials: Reading I: Race Relations in Brazil.

What is Thompson's argument about race relations in Brazil?	The students might point to the paragraph on page 4 in which Thompson argues that race relations in Brazil are not what they are reputed to be, but in the eyes of an American Negro, they are better than they are in the United States.
How does Thompson support his hypothesis?	Get the students to point to specific evidence in the article, working toward the second skill objective.
Why does Thompson select this evidence?	The students should indicate that Thompson went to Brazil to find out if racial discrimination exists there, and looked for instances of prejudice.
How do you know that this is Thompson's frame of reference?	The students should select passages from the article that indicate that Thompson was looking for discrimination.
If we cannot completely trust Thompson, what question then becomes important?	The students should respond that the more important question is as stated in the first subject objective. The teacher should then indicate that this question will be the focus of the unit.
What questions might we ask to get evidence to find out about race relations in Brazil?	The students might respond with questions drawn from the sociological concepts suggested in the introduction. Other questions will be suggested by the concepts of extermination, accommodation, assimilation, and amalgamation introduced in Reading II. The questions drawn from concepts in Reading I might include: "Do Negroes and whites have different roles?" "Do they have different status?" "Can they both belong to the same class?" "What norms dictate the relations between whites and Negroes in Brazil?"

THE INDIAN

Subject Objective: To know
that the culture of the Brazilian Indian was very primitive by European standards.

Skill Objectives:
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions drawn from political science, economics, and sociology to examine the society of the Indians.
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select data from the reading that will enable the student to answer the analytical questions.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about what will happen when Europeans come into contact with the Indian.

Materials: Reading XI: The Indian

ROLE PLAYING DIALOGUE: Divide the class into two groups. Designate one section as scholars and the other as Indians. Have the scholars ask the Indians about their culture.	Have the scholar group spend some time writing down questions they will ask the Indians. Suggest that the scholars use questions coming from the disciplines, if necessary. (Political Science: Leadership, decision-making, institutions, role of the individual, role of ideology. Economics: What to produce? For whom to produce? Sociology: Role, status, norms, social class) While the scholars are preparing their questions, have the Indians review their notes or their reading. After the scholars have worked out their questions, have them quiz the Indian group. The Indians should respond with specific evidence from the reading, including the anecdotes and descriptions in the article.
What judgment would you, as scholars, make about the Indian culture?	The scholars should indicate that the Indian group appears to be quite primitive in comparison with other peoples of the day, particularly Europeans.
What do you think will be the attitude toward these Indians?	The students should explain that the Portuguese would consider the Indians inferior to themselves and that they would be repelled by some of the Indian folkways, notably cannibalism.
Which of the fundamental social processes do you think will take place when the Indians and and Portuguese come into contact?	Direct the students' attention to the introduction, and the four basic processes that are explained there. Have them hypothesize about which will take place.

BRAZIL

Lesson Plan, Reading III

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

Subject Objectives: To know
that the Portuguese were an adaptable, mobile, aristocratic, paternalistic people.
that the Portuguese had a more advanced civilization than the Indians.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select the characteristics of the Portuguese from the evidence in the article.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To modify the hypothesis made from Reading II on the basis of new knowledge about the Portuguese.

Materials: Reading III: The Arrival of the Portuguese

WRITING EXERCISE: List as many adjectives as you can think of that characterize the Portuguese.	Have the students list as many adjectives as they can in five or ten minutes. Then discuss each adjective, having the students point to evidence in the article that justifies their choice. The teacher may wish to list each adjective on the board.
How does the culture of the Portuguese compare with that of the Indian?	Have the students draw comparisons, working toward the second subject objective
Would you modify your hypothesis of yesterday in light of today's reading?	Have the students work toward the second skill objective. They probably will work toward the assimilation-amalgamation end of the spectrum since the Portuguese are adaptable to new environments.

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE INDIAN

Subject Objectives: To know
that the Portuguese assimilated some aspects of Indian culture into the culture of Brazil, but that the two groups did not themselves assimilate completely.

Skill Objectives:
Development of a Plan or Proposed Set of Operations (5.20) - To develop analytical questions derived from the concepts of extermination, accommodation, assimilation, amalgamation.
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - Selecting evidence to answer the questions about accommodation, assimilation, extermination, and amalgamation.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop an hypothesis about the relations between the Indians and the Portuguese.

Materials: Reading IV: The Portuguese and the Indian
Slides: "Brazilian Culture--An Indian-Portuguese Assimilation?"

WRITING EXERCISE: If you were to decide which of the basic social processes took place between the Indian and the Portuguese, what questions would you ask?	Work toward the first skill objective. Have the students write down a number of questions based upon the concepts of amalgamation, assimilation, accommodation and extermination. Write the questions on the board after the students have jotted them on paper. The students should ask such questions as, "Have the Indians vanished from Brazil?" "Have Indians intermarried with whites?" "Have Indians adopted Portuguese ways and vice-versa?" "Are Indians put on reservations?" "Do Portuguese and Indians live in separate communities?
On the basis of this reading, how would you answer these questions?	Have the students point to evidence in the reading that indicates what has happened between the Indian and the Portuguese.
SLIDES: What do these slides reveal about what has taken place between the Indian and the Portuguese?	The slides demonstrate that little of European culture has been assimilated by the Indians but that the Portuguese have learned from the Indian.
WRITING EXERCISE: How would you now phrase the hypothesis we have been working on for the past three days?	Have the students work out an hypothesis on paper, and call upon several in the class to read what they have written. Allow discussion of each hypothesis.

BRAZIL Lesson Plan, Reading V

THE AFRICAN

Subject Objective: To know
that the African had a more advanced culture than the Indian, and that his culture resembled the European culture more than it did that of the Indian.

Skill Objectives:
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions drawn from political science, economics, and sociology to examine African society.
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select evidence from the reading that will help answer the analytical questions.
Analysis of Relationships (4.20) - To select aspects of African society for comparison with the culture of the Indians and the Europeans.

Materials: Reading V: "The African"

GROUP WORK: Divide the class into three groups. Have each investigate either the political, economic, or social system of the Africans.	See that each group starts its investigation with analytical questions drawn from the appropriate discipline. Have each group select a recorder who will report to the whole group.
REPORTS: Have the recorder in each group report to the others on his group's findings.	Make sure that the students enter into their notes the findings of each group. Allow discussion among the entire class to correct or modify the reports.
How do the Africans compare with the Indians?	The students should see that the African culture is more sophisticated in all respects. There is a more highly developed political system, the economic system goes beyond primitive agriculture, and the social system is more sophisticated.
How do the Africans compare with the Europeans?	The students should recognize that the African culture resembles that of medieval Europe.
What would be the attitude of Europeans toward the Africans?	The Portuguese probably would think of the African as inferior and barbaric. The political institutions would compare with the more primitive system Europe left behind in the Middle Ages, the economic system would probably compare more favorably, but would not have the advanced technology. The Portuguese probably would regard polygamy with great disdain because it is not in accord with Christian values.

MASTER AND SLAVE

Subject Objectives: To know
that slavery was less harsh in Brazil than in the United States.
that relations between master and slave recognized the humanity of the slave.

Skill Objectives:
Application (3.00) - To apply analytical questions drawn from sociology to the study of slavery in Brazil.
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select evidence from the reading useful in answering the analytical questions.

Materials: Reading VI: "Master and Slave"
Handout: "Slavery in the United States"

WRITING EXERCISE: Divide class into three groups. Instruct each group to answer analytical questions based on one of the three sociological concepts: role, status, or norms.	The students should develop an hypothesis in answer to each question. They should concentrate on the Negro's low status, his role as laborer (regardless of whether he was free or slave), and the norms of social relations between masters and slaves.
REPORTS AND DISCUSSION:	Call upon a member of each group to read his hypothesis. Be sure that he and the others in his group justify the hypothesis with reference to evidence from the reading.
HANDOUT: How would you compare slavery in the United States with Brazil?	The students should recognize the harshness of the system as compared to Brazil. Mrs. Butler, who appears to be sympathetic to the Negro cause, may overstate the case. Yet the description indicates that the status of the Negro and the norms of interaction between master and slave are more severe.
What influence do you think the Brazilian experience with slavery will have on race relations once slavery is abolished?	Let the students speculate on what will happen in race relations when the slaves are emancipated. They might point out what happens to freed slaves during the slavery period as an indication of what might follow. Focus the students' attention on the four social processes as concepts around which to organize their thinking.

SLAVERY ON ONE U.S. PLANTATION *

The following account of the conditions of slavery in the United States was written by Fanny Kemble Butler, the English-born wife of a southern plantation owner. The description was part of a letter to her friend, Elizabeth Sedgewick. During the American Civil War Mrs. Butler had her letters to Miss Sedgewick published to enlist the sympathy of Great Britain for the Union cause.

....

I walked down the settlement toward the Infirmary or hospital, calling in at one or two of the houses along the row. These cabins consist of one room, about twelve feet by fifteen, with a couple of closets smaller and closer than the state-rooms of a ship, divided off from the main room and each other by rough wooden partitions, in which the inhabitants sleep. They have almost all of them a rude bedstead, with the gray moss of the forests for mattress, and filthy, pestilential-looking blankets for covering. Two families (sometimes eight and ten in number) reside in one of these huts, which are mere wooden frames pinned, as it were, to the earth by a brick chimney outside, whose enormous aperture within pours down a flood of air, but little counteracted by the miserable spark of fire, ...Firewood and shavings lay littered about the floors, while the half-naked children were cowering round two or three smouldering cinders. ...In the midst of the floor, or squatting round the cold hearth, would be four or five little children from four to ten years old, the latter all with babies in their arms, the care of the infants being taken from the mothers. ...

The Infirmary is a large two-story building, terminating the broad orange-planted space between the two rows of houses which form the first settlement; it is built of whitewashed wood, and contains four large-sized rooms. ...In the enormous chimney glimmered the powerless embers of a few sticks of wood, round which, however, as many of the sick women as could approach were cowering, some on wooden settles, most of them on the ground, excluding those who were too ill to rise; and these last poor wretches lay prostrate on the floor, without bed, mattress, or pillow, buried in tattered and filthy blankets, which, huddled round them as they lay strewed about, left hardly space to move upon the floor. And here, in their hour of sickness and suffering, lay those whose health and strength are spent in unrequited labor for us--those who, perhaps even yesterday, were being urged on to their unpaid task--those whose husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons were even at that hour sweating over the earth, whose produce was to buy for us all the luxuries which health can revel in, all the comforts which can alleviate sickness. ...Here lay women...burning with fever, others chilled with cold and aching with rheumatism, upon the hard cold ground, the draughts and dampness of the atmosphere increasing their sufferings, and dirt, noise, and stench, ...

At the upper end of the row of houses, and nearest to our overseer's residence, is the hut of the head driver. ...Each driver is allowed to inflict a dozen lashes upon any refractory slave in the field, and at the time of the offense; ...and if it is found ineffectual, their remedy lies in reporting the unmanageable individual either to the head driver or the overseer, the former of whom has power to

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* From Frances Anne Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1863) 30-33, 43, 189-191 passim.

inflict three dozen lashes at his own discretion...; and as for the master himself, where is his limit? He may, if he likes, flog a slave to death, for the laws which pretend that he may not are a mere pretense, inasmuch as the testimony of a black is never taken against a white; and upon this plantation of ours, and a thousand more, the overseer is the only white man, so whence should come the testimony to any crime of his? With regard to the oft-repeated statement that it is not the owner's interest to destroy his human property, it answers nothing; ...Nothing is commoner than for a man under the transient influence of anger to disregard his worldly advantage; and the black slave, whose preservation is indeed supposed to be his owner's interest, may be, will be, and is occasionally sacrificed to the blind impulse of passion. ...

Judge from the details I now send you; and never forget, while reading them, that the people on this plantation are well off, and consider themselves well off, in comparison with the slaves on some of the neighboring estates.

BRAZIL Lesson Plan, Reading VII

CHURCH, STATE, AND SLAVERY

Subject Objective: To know
that the influence of the Church and State softened the harshness of slavery in Brazil.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select passages that indicate how Church and State influenced the institution of slavery in Brazil.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relation between the influence of government and the Church and the actual treatment of slaves.
Extrapolation (2.30) - To explain the implications of the influence of Church and State on race relations after slavery was abolished.

Materials: Reading VII: "Church, State, and Slavery"

What advantages did the Church and State provide the Negro in Brazil?	Have the students select passages from the reading that indicate how the two institutions affected slavery. The teacher might wish to list the responses on the blackboard. The students should come up with such items as: "A Negro could buy his freedom, according to law." "The Church reprimanded masters for mistreating their slaves," etc.
WRITING EXERCISE: Develop a hypothesis about the effect of Church and State on the relations between master and slave as explained in Reading VI.	Have the students develop a written hypothesis that explains the relationship between the comparatively mild relations between master and slave and the influence of Church and State on slave practices. The students should work toward an hypothesis that indicates that law and religious values can and do affect human relationships.
REPORTS: Call upon several students to read their hypotheses.	In general class discussion, work toward a hypothesis that explains the relationship between the influence of Church and State and the treatment of slaves. The students should be able to justify their hypotheses on the basis of evidence provided in both Readings VI and VII.
How will the influence of Church and State affect race relations after abolition?	Allow the students to speculate about how law and religious restraint might condition folkways and customs about race relations.

THE MODERN SUGAR PLANTATION

Subject Objectives: To know

that the Negro has gained more freedom to rise in the social structure and to move about than he had as a slave.

that the relation between the Negro worker and the plantation owner is much the same as in slavery times.

that the Negro still serves primarily in the role of laborer, and continues to have comparatively low status as a consequence.

Skill Objectives:

Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions drawn from sociology to study the condition of the Negro on the modern Brazilian sugar plantation.

Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select passages that will help answer the analytical questions.

Analysis of Relationships (4.20) - To select aspects of the modern plantation and the slave plantation for comparison.

Materials: Reading VIII: "The Modern Sugar Plantation"

GROUP WORK: Divide the class into four groups. Have each attempt to develop answers to questions derived from *one* of the sociological concepts of role, status, class, or norms.	Have each group appoint a recorder who will report to the class. Each group should develop two or three questions centering on particular concept to be answered. Each group should document its answer with evidence taken from the reading.
REPORTS AND DISCUSSION	Call upon each recorder to report the findings of his particular group. Allow discussion from the entire class to offer evidence that supports or modifies the findings.
How has the Negro's life changed from the time of slavery?	Work toward the subject objectives.
What hypothesis would you make about which social process will take place in these surroundings?	The students should speculate on how the environment of the plantation will promote one of the four basic social processes. The plantation probably is more a system of accommodation than anything else, but some assimilation will take place (particularly in the social festivities). Probably no amalgamation between white owners and Negro workers will take place.

THE CITY SLUM

Subject Objectives: To know
the economic plight of the residents of the favelas.
that the favelados are mostly Negroes or mixed bloods.
that the favelas inhibit assimilation and amalgamation.

Skill Objectives:
Development of a Plan or Proposed Set of Operations (5.20) - To develop a list of questions to ask of the favela dwellers.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.20) - To develop an hypothesis about the relationship between race and the plight of the favelados.
Extrapolation (2.30) - To explain the implications of favela life for the various social processes that can take place between groups.

Materials: Reading IX: "The City Slum"
Photo Essay: "Life in the Favela"

GROUP WORK DIALOGUE: Divide the class into two groups. Have one group write down a number of questions they would ask as social workers investigating the favela. Pass out photo essay to the other group which will answer the questions as "favelados."	Call upon the "social workers" to interrogate the "favelados" about living conditions in the favela. One question that must be asked is "Who lives in the favela?" If the social workers do not ask it, the teacher should. The rest of the questions might center on living conditions and the reasons for them.
Do you think that race condemns a Negro to life in the favela?	Let the students hypothesize about the influence of race on social position and economic status. Work toward the idea that race probably contributes to a person's lot in life (Carolina implies this on page 33) but that lack of education and the need to devote one's energy to just overcoming hunger probably contributes just as much.
What hypothesis would you make about which social process would take place in these surroundings?	The students should hypothesize about the implications of the favela for assimilation and amalgamation. Condemned to the favela, fighting misery day to day, the favelado will probably be restricted from ever assimilating with the whites of São Paulo. The failure to assimilate might be a function of race alone, but probably comes as a result of economic privation.

Photo-Essay consists of six black and white photos showing living conditions (poor sanitation, jerry-built housing, etc.) in a Brazilian city slum.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BRAZIL

Subject Objectives: To know
the factors that determine social class in Brazil, and the importance of race as a factor.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select the factors that determine class in Brazil.
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relationship between race and class in Brazil.

Materials: Reading X: "The Social Structure of Brazil"

ROLE-PLAYING EXERCISE: Divide the class into six groups. Designate each group as one of the classes in Brazil. Ask the following series of questions: 1. Who belongs in your class? 2. What roles do members of your class play in Brazilian society? 3. How does one get to be a member of your class? 4. What status do members of your class have? 5. What do members of your class value?	These questions are designed to get the students to discover the elements that determine class in Brazil. The students should be able to respond indicating specific occupation, wealth, birth, education, values, and race. Write responses on the board, so that they may be analyzed in the next exercise.
What general factors determine class in Brazil?	After the role-playing exercise, the students should analyse their responses to determine which factors determined a man's class in Brazil. They should generalize from the specific answers given in the role-playing.
Which of these factors seem to be most important?	Allow the students to debate this point. They should cite evidence from the reading to indicate which factors seem more important.
How important is race as a factor in determining class?	Again let the students argue the point. Wagley makes hardly any mention of race, and therefore must not deem it important. The traditional upper class is obviously closed to Negroes, and most brancos probably do not end up in lower classes. But beyond these two restrictions, race is probably unimportant as a standard of assigning social class.
How would the Brazilian social structure affect the social processes of accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation?	Have the students infer from the previous discussion whether accommodation, assimilation, or amalgamation will go on in Brazil. Since race is probably unimportant in the social structure, assimilation and amalgamation probably have a better chance of taking place.

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Subject Objectives: To know

that Brazilians generally consider Negroes as inferior to whites in terms of class, education, etc.

that Brazilians believe Negroes should be given equal opportunity to advance.

that Brazilians generally do not believe that Negroes are biologically inferior to whites.

that Brazilians hold a number of hostile images of Negroes.

that Brazilians believe in freer association between members of different races.

Skill Objectives:

Analysis of Elements (4.10) - To select words, phrases, and statements that indicate the major beliefs about race in Bahia.

Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relationship between beliefs about race and the social processes that will proceed in Brazil.

Evaluation (6.00) - To determine the limitations of Pierson's study for making generalizations about Brazil.

Materials: Reading XI: "Beliefs and Attitudes"

What are the limitations of Pierson's study on beliefs and attitudes.	The students should point to those things that limited the selection of these statements, namely, that only one province in Brazil is involved, he did not interview everybody in the province, and his own frame of reference determined the selection.
GROUP WORK: Divide the class into groups of five or six students. Have each group categorize the statements.	Each group will have to work out its own classification scheme. Two ways of classifying are probably appropriate: 1) classify by the personal characteristics of the person who made the statement, or 2) classify by the type of statement that was made.
REPORTS: Have each group explain its classification scheme.	Get the students to explain the classification scheme, only. Do not ask them to indicate which statements appear in each category. Work toward a general classification scheme that will be useful for determining attitudes in Bahia. Perhaps the best method would be a grid indicating the type of people on one axis and the type of statement on another, e.g.

	Branco	Pardo	Preto
Considered inferior because of race			
Considered inferior because of class			
Considered equal			
Considered to have obnoxious qualities			
Considered to have good qualities			

How would you fill in these categories?	Put the classification scheme on the board. Have class fill in grid with the number of people in each group who hold a particular image or belief about Negroes. Students might suggest more categories for each axis.
On the basis of this analysis, what general statements would you make about beliefs and attitudes about race in Bahia?	Use this question to work toward the subject objectives of the lesson.
Do you think assimilation or amalgamation is possible in Bahia, given these attitudes?	Allow the students to speculate on the implications of Bahian beliefs on the basic social processes.

WHERE IS BRAZIL GOING: SOME HYPOTHESES

Subject Objective: To know
the general direction of Pierson's hypotheses, namely, that various factors have combined to make social distinctions based on race far less important in Brazil than elsewhere in the world, and that racial assimilation and amalgamation is taking place in Brazil.

Skill Objective:
Production of a Plan or Proposed Set of Operations (5.20) - To develop a series of analytical questions to pose to the rest of the material in the unit.

Materials: Reading XII: "Where is Brazil Going: Some Hypotheses"

What seems to be the general hypothesis that Pierson makes?	Work toward the subject objective of the lesson, spelling out in some detail the factors that have reduced the saliency of race in Brazil.
How would you test this general hypothesis?	Get students to suggest that analytical questions drawn from Pierson's 25 hypotheses would enable them to test the general hypothesis.
GROUP WORK - WRITING EXERCISE: Divide the class into groups of five or six students. Have each group develop a set of analytical questions.	Work toward the skill objective of the lesson. After each group has had a chance to develop a set of questions, have them report to the entire class. Focus class discussion on deciding which of the four or five questions will be best to ask of the material that remains in the unit.

REPORTS

CASE STUDY #1 - VILA RECÔNCAVO

Subject Objectives: To know
that race is one among many factors that determine class in Vila Recôncavo.
that class determines intermarriage more than race does.

Skill Objectives:
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relationship between class and race relations in Vila Recôncavo.
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions derived from Reading XII to analyze data.

Materials: Reading XIII: "Case Study #1 - Vila Recôncavo"
Handout: "People of Vila Recôncavo."

What classes exist in Vila Recôncavo?	Have the students recall only the names of the classes in the town. Do not have them describe their attributes.
HANDOUT: In which class would you place all of the following people?	Have the students rank each of the individuals according to class, explaining why they have ranked them the way they have.
What factors have you considered in ranking these people?	The students should identify race, wealth, education, birth and occupation as variables.
How important is race in this social ranking?	Have the students work toward the first subject objective of the lesson.
How would these various individuals relate to each other?	Get at questions about intermarriage, relationships at social functions, employee-worker relations, etc. The teacher might ask which individuals might marry individual #1, etc.
Which of our analytical questions can we answer with this evidence?	The students should be able to answer questions about the relationship between race and class, particularly those that also consider relations between races, such as marriage relations, relations at social affairs, etc.
How would you answer the questions on the basis of this evidence?	Have the students use the reading to answer the questions they have asked. Work toward the second subject objective.

INDIVIDUALS IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

#1 - *Preto*, male, no education beyond first grade, employed only at odd jobs, does not work steadily, lives in shanty outside of town.

#2 - *Preto*, male, member of town council, a physician.

#3 - *Branco*, female, daughter of plantation owner, lives only six months in Vila Recôncavo and spends the other six in Salvador going to school.

#4 - *Pardo*, male, plantation overseer responsible for operation of plantation. Lives on the plantation in sizable house, has equivalent of sixth grade education.

#5 - *Pardo*, female, does occasional domestic work in homes of Vila Recôncavo to supplement the income of her husband who is often out of work.

#6 - *Pardo*, male, works in sugar mill, educated to the fifth grade but is sending his children to high school. Lives in small, but neat house.

#7 - *Branco*, female, educated through high school, the wife of a carpenter. Lives in modest house built by her husband, who is a *pardo*.

#8 - *Preto*, female, educated through sixth grade, the daughter of the owner of a fishing vessel, and married to a fisherman.

#9 - *Branco*, male, owns the local general store, has two years of higher education.

#10 - *Branco*, male, owner of one of the local plantations. Also has served in the diplomatic corps. Has a college education.

#11 - *Preto*, male, accountant at the sugar mill, two years of accounting school beyond high school. Makes good salary.

#12 - *Branco*, male, bricklayer. Educated to sixth grade. Lives in modest house.

CASE STUDY #2 - MINAS VELHAS

Subject Objectives: To know
how sociologists determine stereotypes
that whites and Negroes hold derogatory stereotypes of Negroes in Minas Velhas
that these stereotypes influence but do not completely determine race relations.

Skill Objectives:
Derivation of Abstract Relations (5.30) - To develop a hypothesis about the relationship between stereotypes and race relations in Minas Velhas.
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions derived from Reading XII to understand race relations in Minas Velhas

Materials: Reading XIV: "Case Study #2 - Minas Velhas"
Slides: "Occupational Stereotypes"
Transparency: "Occupational Stereotypes"
Handout: "Occupational Stereotypes"
"Stereotypes in Minas Velhas"

SHOW SLIDES: Have students rate the individuals shown according to the chart on the handout.	This exercise is designed to acquaint the students with the methods used by sociologists to determine stereotypes.
Record student stereotypes on transparency.	
How would this data be helpful to you if you were studying the social structure of our community?	Get the students to see how this data can be used to understand the stereotypes they have of people, and work toward the importance of stereotypes in determining relations between groups.
HANDOUT: "Stereotypes in Minas Velhas." What conclusions can you draw about Minas Velhas from this study?	Get at the derogatory stereotypes of Negroes held by all members of the community. The students should see that the Negro comes out on the bottom in all cases except work, which probably also is a derogatory image since manual labor is little respected in Brazil. Have the students supplement this data with evidence from the reading.
According to the article, how do these stereotypes affect race relations in Minas Velhas?	Work toward the third subject objective of the lesson.
Which of our analytical questions can we answer from this case?	Have the students answer analytical questions that deal with racial attitudes and race relations. Work toward a general hypothesis about the relationship between the two, using Pierson's hypotheses as a guide.

Single-concept slides: five black and white photos showing the following individual occupations: doctor, teacher, policeman, coal miner, artist (painter).
Transparency is merely a copy of the handout.

BRAZIL Handout, Rdg. XIV #1

RATING SHEET

Picture #	1	2	3	4	5	6
Most intelligent						
Least intelligent						
Most handsome						
Least handsome						
Most wealthy						
Least wealthy						
Strongest						
Weakest						
Most honest						
Least honest						
Best worker						
Worst worker						

STEREOTYPES IN BAHIA *

* Table from Marvin Harris, "Race Relations in Minas Velhas, a Community in the Mountain Region of Central Brazil," in Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (New York: UNESCO International Documents Service, Columbia University Press: 1963) 58.

A table compiled by asking individuals in Bahia to determine from pictures which of the following characteristics most applied to the individual in the photograph. Each person interviewed was shown six pictures, a white, mulatto, and Negro man and a white, mulatto, and Negro woman. Characteristics listed such as: most intelligent, less intelligent, least intelligent, etc. etc.

BRAZIL

Lesson Plan, Reading XV

CASE #3 - SÃO PAULO

Subject Objective: To know
that racial discrimination takes place on a larger scale in São Paulo than in rural areas of Brazil.

Skill Objectives:
Analysis of Relationships (4.20) - To determine the evidence used to support the hypotheses made by the two studies in the reading and decide how it supports the hypothesis.
Application (3.00) - To use analytical questions drawn from Reading XII to understand race relations in São Paulo.

Materials: Reading XV: "Case #3 - São Paulo"

What hypothesis does each study make? How do they compare with Pierson's hypotheses?	The students should recall the hypotheses of the two studies reported in the reading. In general, both believe that strong racial prejudice exists in São Paulo. Both studies indicate that race prejudice is stronger in São Paulo than Pierson believes it was in Bahia.
How does each support his hypothesis?	Get the students to distinguish between the two methods. Morse, the historian, uses a variety of data, some drawn from fiction, some from newspapers, and some from a survey or poll. The sociologists use only the poll.
Which analytical questions could you answer from these two studies?	Have the students answer the analytical questions developed in Reading XII. They probably will decide that the answers to the questions would not be the same that Pierson gives in his study.
How do you account for the differences between race relations in São Paulo and rural Brazil?	Have the students offer explanations of why Pierson's hypotheses, which have probably only been modified somewhat in the first two case studies, must be almost rejected in São Paulo. Some answers may concentrate on the urban setting, the presence of recent immigrants, the competition for jobs, etc. Another explanation might be that the stereotypes really do not work out in practice the way they should, although the evidence of race relations is that prejudice influences race relations more in São Paulo than in rural Brazil.

BRAZIL

Lesson Plan, Reading XVI

RACE RELATIONS IN BRAZIL: A SUMMARY

Subject Objective: To know
that Wagley concludes that race is not as important in determining social relations in Brazil as it is in some other countries, notably the United States.

Skill Objective:
Evaluation (6.00) - To determine the validity of Wagley's views on the basis of evidence in the unit.

Materials: Reading XVI: "Race Relations in Brazil: A Summary"
Final Examination on Brazil.

The final day in the unit can be used either for administering the final examination or for discussing the following questions.

What does your author believe is the importance of race in Brazil?	Work toward the subject objective
Do you agree with Wagley?	Have students refer to the evidence they have examined in the entire unit in order to judge Wagley's contention.

BRAZIL

FINAL EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This examination is divided into two parts. The first part is an objective examination, consisting of 15 questions for which you should allot 15 minutes. The second part is an essay examination to be written during the remainder of the period.

For each question in the objective section choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

1. A sociological study in São Paulo revealed that
   A. race prejudice does not exist in the city.
   [✓ B.] children of middle class Paulistas do not approve of marriage between races.
   C. São Paulo is a segregated community.
   D. lower class Paulistas have the strongest racial prejudice.

2. Most residents of the favelas are
   A. whites B. mulattoes C. Indians [✓ D.] Negroes

3. In Vila Recôncavo, Negroes are excluded from
   [✓ A.] only the traditional upper class.
   B. both the traditional and the local upper class.
   C. all but the lower class.
   D. none of the classes.

4. In Brazil, the middle class
   A. contains no Negroes.
   B. is wealthier than the upper class.
   C. is made up of the impoverished sons of the upper class.
   [✓ D.] strives to gain the same things as the upper class has.

5. Which of the following describes the effect of stereotypes on race relations in Minas Velhas?
   A. They prevent all intermarriage.
   [✓ B.] They determine how whites treat Negroes at social functions.
   C. They keep all Negroes in lower class positions.
   D. They foster complete separation of the white and Negro communities.

6. All of the following are very important in determining a man's class in Brazil, EXCEPT:
   A. the amount of wealth he has.
   [✓ B.] the region of the country in which he lives.
   C. the amount of education he has had.
   D. the family into which he was born.

7. In which of the following positions on the sugar plantation would you find Negroes?
   A. Owners. [✓ C.] Laborers.
   B. Administrators or overseers. D. Artisans.

8. As a result of his investigation, Pierson concluded that
   [✓ A.] race does not influence social relations in Brazil as strongly as in other countries.
   B. no race prejudice exists in Brazil.
   C. membership in a social class is determined largely by one's race.
   D. very little intermarriage has gone on between races in Brazil, compared to other countries.

9. Studies on stereotypes have shown that Brazilians
   A. do not have stereotypes of Negroes.
   B. believe Negroes to be intelligent.
   [✓ C.] believe Negroes to be lazy.
   D. believe Negroes to be beautiful.

10. Why would the study of the relationship between race and class be useful in determining which of the basic social processes is going on in Brazil?
    A. It might reveal the stereotypes whites hold about Negroes.
    [✓ B.] It might reveal whether Negroes are accepted as equal to whites.
    C. It might reveal whether Negroes have the same norms as whites.
    D. It might reveal the biological differences between whites and Negroes.

11. Which of the following questions would be LEAST useful in determining which of the four basic social processes was going on in Brazil?
    [✓ A.] How many people live in favelas in Brazil?
    B. Do Negroes and whites live in separate communities?
    C. How many marriages were there between Negroes and whites last year?
    D. What aspects of African culture have Brazilian whites picked up?

Questions 12 through 15 refer to the following table.

DISTRIBUTION OF RACES BY CLASS IN MINAS VELHAS

Class	White	Mulatto	Negro	All Races
Class A (upper)	20%	4%	0%	10%
Class B (middle)	69%	61%	60%	63%
Class C (lower)	11%	35%	40%	25%

12. All of the following analytical questions could be answered with the table shown above EXCEPT:
    A. How much mobility do Negroes have in this community?
    B. Do Negroes occupy only lower class positions in this community?
    [✓ C.] What roles do Negroes have in this community?
    D. Is membership in the upper class closed to Negroes?

13. The conclusion: "Only whites and mulattoes have complete mobility in this community"
    [✓ A.] is justified by the table.
    B. is not justified by the table.
    C. can be inferred from the table, but more evidence will be necessary to justify it.
    D. can neither be inferred nor justified by the evidence in the table.

14. All of the following conclusions can be substantiated by the evidence in the table shown above, EXCEPT:
    A. Race is a factor in determining a man's class in this community.
    B. Race probably is not the only factor in determining a man's class in this community.
    C. Race is a more important factor in determining membership in the upper class than it is in determining membership in the middle and lower classes.
    [✓ D.] Race prejudice is the most important factor in determining the membership of all classes in this community.

15. The conclusion: "Marriage between upper class whites and mulattoes is extremely rare"
    A. is justified by the table.
    B. is not justified by the table.
    [✓ C.] can be inferred from the table, but more evidence will be needed to justify it.
    D. can neither be inferred nor justified from the evidence in the table.

Essay question on reverse side.

For the remainder of the examination period, write an essay on the following question.

"Brazil is the Hell of the Negro...and the paradise of the mulatto."

-- Gregorio de Matos

Do you agree with the poet, de Matos? Justify your answer with evidence drawn from your reading.

TOTALITARIANISM IN CHINA

A UNIT FOR INDUCTIVE TEACHING

prepared at the

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TOTALITARIANISM IN CHINA

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Reading I

INTRODUCTION

The introductory reading for this unit is taken from an account of a visit to China by an Indian demographer, Sripati Chandra-Sekhar. Mr. Chandra-Sekhar who had visited China under the Kuomintang returned again after the Communists came to power. The account below describes the aspects of Chinese society which struck him most forcibly. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What strikes the casual traveler to China? What do these impressions reveal about the nature of the regime?
2. Are the impressions which struck the author the result of the fact that China is underdeveloped, that the Chinese have an ancient culture, or that the new regime has brought about the institutions and customs that are described?
3. What would have to happen to American society before conditions similar to the ones described here could be established?
4. Would a westerner have noticed the same things Chandra-Sekhar did?

AN ASIAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF COMMUNIST CHINA*

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* From Sripati Chandra-Sekhar, RED CHINA, AN ASIAN VIEW, (Frederick A. Praeger, New York: 1961) 7-14, 18-20 *passim*.

An Indian traveler in Red China comments on regimentation in clothing, constant bombardment of propaganda via loudspeakers, extraordinary cleanliness of streets and sidewalks, and the 24-hour schedule of industry. The altered position of women and the absolute honesty of the people is also remarked upon, as well as the absence of beggars.

CHINA: THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

STATING THE ISSUE

China is the oldest uninterrupted civilization on the face of the earth. Its origins have been traced to 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. Unlike other ancient river valley civilizations, Chinese civilization, which sprang from the fertile plain between the Yangtze and Hwang Ho rivers, has continued to the present without interruption. China, therefore, draws upon the longest of all traditions. The essential elements of that tradition persisted until the Communist Party achieved power in 1949 and began a determined effort to uproot the people from their ancient ways.

The task that the Communists face is enormous for the roots of traditional society grow deep. Not only the length of the traditions but their continuity and persistence have contributed to the holding power of the past. Until the third or fourth century A.D., Chinese society was dynamic and changing. Conflict between various religions and political theories combined with the competition of various ruling elites for power produced continuous innovation. With the accession of the Sung dynasty, however, the conflicts in ideas began to subside and succeeding dynasties which captured power tended to cling to the old patterns of thought and government.

In this first section of the unit on China we will examine the traditional ways of the Chinese which were woven into their social fabric over centuries of practice. As you read you should look for the relationship between the values of the society and the political, economic and social institutions of China before the Communists. You should also compare the political, economic, and social systems of traditional China with those you have studied previously. And finally, you should be alert to those aspects of traditional China that the Communists would feel compelled to change in order to achieve their basic goals.

READING II

TRADITIONAL VALUES: CONFUCIANISM

t the time that Socrates was developing many of the humanistic ideas which
ave become part of western civilization, the Chinese sage, Confucius, was
eaching the ethics of human relationships to a group of Chinese feudal lords
nd scholars. By the fifth century A.D. most Chinese had come to accept
onfucian principles as the basic element in their value system. The upper
lasses were all schooled in the Confucian classics and their eminence in the
overnment of China made Confucianism the basis of political organization and
ctivity. Moreover, the Confucian tradition was transmitted to the lower
lasses through example and through the teaching of upper class scholar-
fficials.

he values of a society help to determine its nature. The fact that Americans
alue success and respect the self-made man helps to keep our society mobile
nd promote an enterprise economy. Values are closely related to the institu-
ions and mores of society. For this reason, examining the value system of
raditional China can give us insights into many of the most meaningful aspects
f Chinese life.

eading II contains many of the important sayings of Confucius and his disciple,
encius. From these sayings you should be able to develop a general picture
f the values that permeated Chinese society for more than a thousand years.
s you read, consider the following questions:

1. What are the main concerns of Confucius? To what aspects of human life does he devote most of his attention?

2. What implications does Confucianism have for the recruitment of leaders in Chinese society? What implications does it have for the rules of decision-making? What implications does it have for the role of the individual citizen in political life?

3. What implications does Confucianism have for determining social class? Who should be accorded the greatest respect in society? Who should be accorded the least? How would one obtain respect according to Confucian ethics?

THE SAYINGS OF CONFUCIUS *

* From Confucius, THE ANALECTS, in SOURCES OF THE CHINESE TRADITION, William Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit-Chan, and Burton Watson, eds. (Columbia University Press, New York: 1960), 25-35 passim.

Selected sayings of confucius outline the high standards of courtesy, magnanimity, good faith, diligence, kindness which Confucius applies to governmental as well as personal relations.

GOVERNMENT AND CONFUCIANISM *

* From "The Mean" (Chung yung) in SOURCES OF THE CHINESE TRADITION, op. cit. 133-134.

Confucius specifically relates the three virtues of knowledge, humanity and courage to inter-human relationships of all kinds, and especially to government.

THE SAYINGS OF MENCIUS *

* From Mencius, in SOURCES OF THE CHINESE TRADITION, op. cit., 106-110 and in Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, THE CHANGING SOCIETY OF CHINA, (Mentor Books, New York: 1962) 68.

Mencius speaks out against materialism of the heads of government and in favor of paternalism.

READING III

TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT: THE CIVIL SERVICE

n 1793 the English Lord McCartney was sent on an embassy to China in order o obtain commercial concessions for Great Britain. While there, he kept a etailed journal and in it recorded this judgment: "Considering then all ircumstances, ...the most incalculable population, the immense extent of ominion, the personal exertions requisite in war, and the no less difficult alents of administration in peace--considering, I say, all these circum- tances, the government of such an empire must be a task of inconceivable igilance and toil; and yet it is a task that has hitherto been performed with onderful ability and unparalleled success." 1/

cCartney, of course, had no way of knowing that his very presence in China ignaled the beginning of the end of the imperial government which had been he Chinese political system for a thousand years. The coming of the West id much to undermine the Emperor's government which had ruled for so long ith "wonderful ability and unparalleled success." Yet for centuries the mperial government had successfully coped with the incredible problems of uling a kingdom larger and more populous than anything in Europe.

ow did the government do it? Though supreme power was vested in the Emperor, ho by his conduct was supposed to set an example for all imperial officials, he real task of day-to-day governing of the kingdom rested on the shoulders f the imperial civil service. Reading III concentrates on that governmental ody. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. How were the members of the civil service recruited? What kinds of leaders would be recruited by this system?
2. What kinds of activities were expected of civil servants? How would these expectations influence decision making by these officials?
3. How was the civil service organized? What responsibilities were delegated to each department? What implications do these responsibilities have for the role of government in Chinese life?
4. How did the recruitment and supervision of the civil servants, and the responsibilities of the Chinese civil service tend to promote Confucian values?
5. What implications does the civil service system have for the social structure? Who is accorded respect? Who is not? How is respect obtained?

J.L. Cranmer-Byng, ed., AN EMBASSY TO CHINA: BEING THE JOURNAL KEPT BY LORD McCARTNEY DURING HIS EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR CH'IEN-LUNG, 1793-1794, (Hamden, Connecticut, 1963), p. 238.

THE EDUCATION OF CIVIL SERVANTS *

There were three ways of becoming a civil servant in imperial China: one could buy an office, one could do a distinguished service for the government as a private citizen, or one could become certified as eligible for the civil service by passing the arduous examinations administered by the state. To pass the examinations required long years of study. The following selections reveal the emphasis in the education of civil servants.

A. A passage memorized by young boys early in their education.

There are three powers--heaven, earth, and man.
There are three lights--the sun, moon, and stars.
There are three bonds--between prince and minister, justice;
Between father and son, affection; between man and wife, concord.

Humanity, justice, propriety, wisdom, and truth--
These five cardinal virtues are not to be confused.
Rice, millet, pulse, wheat, sorghum, millet grass,
Are six kinds of grain on which men subsist.

Mutual affection of father and son, concord of man and wife;
The older brother's kindness, the younger one's respect;
Order between seniors and juniors, friendship among associates;
On the prince's part regard, on the minister's true loyalty;--
These ten moral duties are ever binding among men.

B. A passage read by intermediate students.

In the days of the Han dynasty lived Koh Kü, who was very poor. He had one child three years old; and such was his poverty that his mother usually divided her portion of food with this little one. Koh says to his wife, "We are so poor that our mother cannot be supported, for the child divides with her the portion of food that belongs to her. Why not bury this child? Another child may be born to us, but a mother once gone will never return." His wife did not venture to object to the proposal; and Koh immediately dug a hole of about three cubits deep, when suddenly he lighted upon a pot of gold, and on the metal read the following inscription: "Heaven bestows this treasure upon Koh Kü, the dutiful son; the magistrate may not seize it, nor shall the neighbors take it from him."

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* From S. Wells Williams, THE MIDDLE KINGDOM, (Scribners, New York: 1882) pp. 528, 539, 552-3.

Wu Mang, a lad eight years of age, who lived under the Tsin dynasty, was very dutiful to his parents. They were so poor that they could not afford to furnish their bed with mosquito curtains; and every summer's night, myriads of mosquitos attacked them unrestrainedly, feasting upon their flesh and blood. Although there were so many, yet Wu would not drive them away, lest they should go to his parents and annoy them. Such was his affection.

C. The examinations.

On the first day after the doors have been sealed up, four themes are selected by the examiners from the Four Books, one of which subjects must be discussed in a poetical essay. The minimum length of the compositions is a hundred characters, and they must be written plainly and elegantly, and sent in without any names attached. In 1828, the acumen of four thousand eight hundred candidates was exercised during the first day on these themes: "Tsang-tsz' said, 'To possess ability, and yet ask of those who do not; to know much, and yet inquire of those who know little; to possess, and yet appear not to possess; to be full, and yet appear empty.'" -- "He took hold of things by the two extremes, and in his treatment of the people maintained the golden medium." "A man from his youth studies eight principles, and when he arrives at manhood, he wishes to reduce them to practice." -- The fourth essay, to be written in parameters, had for its subject, "The sound of the oar, and the green of the hills and water." Among the themes given out in 1843 were these: "He who is sincere will be intelligent, and the intelligent man will be faithful." -- "In carrying out benevolence, there are no rules." In 1835, one was, "He acts as he ought, both to the common people and official men, receives his revenue from Heaven, and by it is protected and highly esteemed." Among other more practical texts are the following: "Fire-arms began with the use of rockets in the Chau dynasty; in what book do we first meet with the word for cannon? Is the defense of Kaifung fu its first recorded use? Kublai Khan it is said, obtained cannon of a new kind; from whom did he obtain them? When the Ming emperors, in the reign of Yungloh, invaded Cochinchina, they obtained a kind of cannon called the weapons of the gods; can you give an account of their origin?"

SUPERVISION OF CIVIL SERVANTS *

> If becoming a civil servant was an arduous task requiring long years of study to pass difficult examinations, meeting the demands of civil service positions was even more difficult. Each official was required to submit a report every three years on the quality of work of his subordinate officials. The following selection is from one of these reports.

"The cabinet minister Changling has strenuously exerted himself during a long lapse of years; he has reached the eightieth year of his age, yet his energies are still in full force. His colleagues Pwan Shi-ngan and Muchangah, as well as the assistant minister Wang Ting, have invariably displayed diligence and attention, and have not failed in yielding us assistance. Tang Kin-chau, president of the Board of Office, has knowledge and attainments of a respectable and sterling character, and has shown himself public-spirited and intelligent in the performance of special duties assigned to him. Shi Chi-yen, president of the Board of Punishments, retains his usual strength and energies, and in the performance of his judicial duties has displayed perspicacity and circumspection. The assistant cabinet minister and governor of Chihli province, Kishen, transacts the affairs of his government with faithfulness, and the military force under his control is well disciplined. Husunge, the governor of Shensi and Kansuh provinces, is cautious and prudent, and performs his duties with careful exactness. Ilipu, governor of Yunnan and Kweichau, is well versed in the affairs of his frontier government, and has fully succeeded in preserving it free from disturbance. Linking, who is entrusted with the general charge of the rivers in Kiangnan, has not failed in his care of the embankments, and has preserved the surrounding districts from all disquietude. To show our favor unto all these, let the Board of Office determine on appropriate marks of distinction for them.

"Kweisan, subordinate minister of the Cabinet, is hasty and deficient, both in precision and capacity; he is incapable of moving and acting for himself; let him take an inferior station, and receive an appointment in the second class of the guards. Yihtsih, vice-president of the Board of Works for Mukden, possesses but ordinary talents and is incompetent to the duties of his present office; let him also take an inferior station, and be appointed to a place in the first class of guards. Narkinge, the governor-general of Hukwang, though having under him the whole civil and military bodies of two provinces, has yet been unable, these many days, to seize a few beggarly impish vagabonds: after having in the first instance failed in prevention, he has followed up that failure by idleness and remissness, and has fully proved himself inefficient. Let him take the lower station of governor in Hunan, and within one year let him, by the apprehension of Lan Ching-tsun, show that he is aroused to greater exertions."

* From S. Wells Williams, op. cit., pp. 449-50.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

The final selection describes the organization of the central government civil service into six departments. In addition to this organization, there were other civil servants who were responsible for the administration of local affairs. The responsibilities of the six departments, however, indicate what the government believed to be its major concerns.

There are six administrative departments, namely the Celestial Department, the Terrestrial Department, the Spring Department, the Summer Department, the Autumn Department and the Winter Department.

A. Celestial Department. The head of the Celestial Department is called the prime minister, whose function it is to control the administration of the whole kingdom, to govern and regulate all administrative affairs, to grade the tributes from the various feudal states, and to adjust annual expenditure with revenue.

He alone has the right as well as the obligation to fix the budget for the next fiscal year, which he does at the close of every year when the grain has been garnered. The amount to be spent is adjusted to the size ot the territory over which it is to be applied and to the amount of revenue of the current year. It is usually the average of the preceding thirty years, but always limited by the revenue.

For the purpose of religious worship, a tenth part of the expenditure is appropriated, and for the purpose of mourning in case of the death of a king, a tenth of the amount of the preceding three year's expenditure is set apart. ...

B. Terrestrial Department. The head of the Terrestrial Department is called the minister of population, whose function it is to direct the state education, inculcate the seven ethical relationships, and minister to the needs of the people. To be more specific, the minister of population is to curb the people's passions and inordinate desires; to define and set forth the six ceremonies--conferring the hat, marriage, mourning, worship, banqueting and audience; to stimulate their love for virtue as illustrated and exemplified in the seven ethical relations--the relations between parent and child, between brother and brother, between husband and wife, between ruler and subject, between old and young, between friend and friend, and between host and guest; to guard against any confusion and excess; to regulate the eight objects of government--food, costume, professions, social status, standards, weights, measures, numeric systems, and sizes; to bring the barbarians to the adoption of Chinese manners and customs; to inculcate a uniform conception of right and virtue; to encourage filial piety; to provide for the aged, the unfortunate, and the needy; to grant aid to the orphans and the childless; to exalt virtue and pay honor to the worthy; and to punish all offenders and recalcitrants. ...

C. The Spring Department. The head of the Spring Department is called the minister of religion, whose function it is to attend the national religious ceremonies and rites relating on the one hand to the worship of Heaven, Earth, and the Spirits, and on the other to celebrations, funerals, diplomatic ceremony, army ceremony, and endowments. ...

D. The Summer Department. The head of the Summer Department is called the Minister of War, whose function it is to superintend military affairs in general, to sanction military expeditions, to determine the organization of the army, to suppress any insurrection or rebellion within the territory, and to appoint and dismiss governmental employees.

E. The Autumn Department. The head of the Autumn Department is called the Minister of Justice whose function it is to guard over the laws, define and interpret them, see that appropriate punishments be inflicted in all cases, and in the final instance punish convicts, insubordinates, and offenders against the law.

The following are some of the categories of crimes for which capital punishment was inflicted.

1. The introduction of a different language; an attempt to overthrow the existing laws; the change of names officially fixed; modification of the established institutions in order to throw the administration into disorder; the practice of superstitious cults.
2. The introduction of unnatural music, strange costumes, unrecognized arts, and unrecognized instruments to mislead the people.
3. To mislead the people by...teaching false doctrines set forth with eloquence and logic, and preaching theories clearly wrong but supported with extensive knowledge.
4. To mislead the people by means of fabricated revelations from the gods.

F. The Winter Department. The head of the Winter Department is called the Minister of Works, whose function it is to assign appropriate places for habitation to the four classes of people, namely the scholars, farmers, mechanics and merchants, give them proper occupations, and employ and superintend the men engaged in public works.

READING IV

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL CLASSES: THE SCHOLAR-GENTRY

In China, as in all societies, people were grouped together in a hierarchy of social classes. Unlike western nations, however, the basic social structure of China existed unchanged for centuries. Between the fall of the Roman empire and the present day, western nations have witnessed a number of revolutions in their political and economic systems and in their ideology, all of which have left their marks on social structure. As you have discovered in the previous two readings, however, China did not go through similar revolutions. Therefore, the social fabric remained essentially unaltered since its basis in values, the economy and government was unchanged.

Many centuries of political and ideological stability tended to solidify the class distinctions. Two basic classes, the rulers and the ruled, made up the social structure of traditional China. The members of each class were drawn from the same families. There was very little movement between the classes; members of the ruling class--the scholar-gentry--did not lose their positions and those who were ruled had little chance to rise.

There were subgroups within these two basic classes, however. For instance, among the ruled were peasants, merchants, and craftsmen, each receiving a specific degree of respect. Even within the peasant families, or clans, a definite hierarchy developed. Within the scholar-gentry class gradations based on wealth and political power also grew up. During the Manchu dynasty, which was the last to rule before the Chinese revolution eventually brought the Communists to power, these grades within the gentry class were formalized by assigning each grade a different colored button to be worn on a person's hat.

The following selection, written by Helmut G. Callis, a professor of history at the University of Utah, describes the ruling class of China, the scholar-gentry, and compares it to other social groups. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How did the value system and the political system of China contribute to the status of the scholar-gentry?
2. What were the bases of class distinctions in China?
3. What privileges were the scholar-gentry given as a class?
4. To what degree was social status translated into political and economic power in China? What were the levers the scholar-gentry used to wield their power?

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THE CLASS STRUCTURE *

* From Helmut G. Callis, CHINA, CONFUCIAN AND COMMUNIST, (Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York: 1959), pp. 61-65.

This article describes the supremacy of the scholar-gentry class in China, its makeup, its position within the society, its political and economic power.

READING V

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: VILLAGE AGRICULTURE

Like its traditional political and social systems, the Chinese economic system remained basically unchanged for centuries. Though a number of the elements which produced change in the western nations, particularly technological advances, had been a factor in Chinese life, the pattern of subsistence farming combined with small cottage industries continued as the basis of the Chinese economy.

The Chinese economy did not rest wholly upon the farmer, however. As early as the twelfth century, European travelers in China wrote about large cities--larger than any in Europe--which thrived on a brisk trade carried on by the merchant class. In the nineteenth century this merchant class, which always had been held in low esteem by the Chinese, became allied with the merchants from western nations. Through the coastal port cities, such as Shanghai, merchants carried on trade which increased their wealth tremendously. The trade was based on a European and American demand for luxury items, such as silk. But at no time did the capital coming from this great commerce work its way into the existing economic system to generate substantial economic growth. The lives of the great majority of the Chinese were unaltered by the commercial upsurge, and they continued to till their farms in the villages.

Reading V concentrates on the basic element of the Chinese economic system--village agriculture. The reading is taken from a book by a Chinese sociologist who was born in the village which he describes. The author, Martin C. Yang, was in a unique position for studying the Chinese people who lived in the village, for he was, at once, trained in the techniques of analyzing a society objectively and at the same time the product of the village he studied. As you read Dr. Yang's description, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What kind of economic system--market, traditional, or command--seems to predominate in the village economy?
2. What is produced in the village? Why does the village produce the goods and services it does?
3. How are the various resources and products of the village allocated? How do the inhabitants decide to allocate their resources?
4. In what ways would the Communists want to change this economic system? What difficulties might they encounter in changing it?

A CHINESE VILLAGE *

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* From Martin C. Yang, A CHINESE VILLAGE, TAITOU, SHANTUNG PROVINCE, (Columbia University Press, New York: 1945), pp. 14-31 passim.

The fragmentation of cultivated land is described, the variety of crops, the simplicity of farm implements, and the kinds of animals on the village farms. Crafts which are supplementary to farming are mentioned but the village economy is described as based on farming.

READING VI

TRADITIONAL CHINA: THE PEASANT

Most Chinese are and always have been peasants. Generations upon generations of Chinese have tilled fragments of land, eking out the barest living. To a great extent, the huge mass of peasants did not figure in the social, cultural, ideological and political traditions of the ancient empire. Chinese politics, culture, and ideology were mainly the private preserve of the ruling elite. The contacts between the elite and the peasant were minimal. For example, the peasant rarely appeared in a court of law since his presence disrupted the elite's normal routine. He was discouraged from going to court by a system of stiff penalties and payments which he had to pay if he lost his case, or sometimes, even if he won it. The peasant rarely saw or heard from the government official, or prefect in his area. Transactions that were necessary, such as collecting taxes or commandeering work on roads, were carried out by a village head and the bureaucratic officers.

The separation of the peasant culture from the official imperial culture naturally resulted in the development of many separate village cultures, each with its own mores and traditions. The peasant did not feel that he was part of a great empire; rather he tended to identify with his village, and even more, with his relatives. Kinship ties were very strong in China. The community that meant most to the peasant was the community which included all of his cousins, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, and other relations. Taken together, all of his relations formed a clan. Within the clan was a smaller community, the immediate family. This group of brothers and sisters was the basic unit of Chinese peasant culture.

In a very real sense, therefore, China was two cultures--the culture of the elite and the culture of the peasant. Nonetheless, common bonds united them. The Confucian ideology, though it was practiced in different forms by the two cultures, was the basis of the value systems in both groups. The imperial government, though it had little official contact with the great mass of peasants, was still able to maintain order and communication throughout China and thereby make contact between the various peasant villages and between village and city possible. Moreover, the ruling elite recognized the importance of the peasants in the economic health of the nation and often would take measures designed to ease the toil of the farm worker. Finally, a large number of national holidays symbolized the union of the two cultures.

Nonetheless, the lot of the peasant was never easy and he was never allowed to participate fully in the culture of the elite. This final reading on the traditional society concentrates on the life of the peasant in the early part of the twentieth century. The reading illustrates how the peasant culture fit into the traditional culture at the time that the traditional culture was breaking down. The authors, Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, were eyewitnesses to the life of the peasants as reporters from American newspapers. Their description, written in 1946, is a vivid account of how, in the midst of war, the peasant culture was beset by tremendous challenges. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is the Chinese peasant's relationship to his government? How does the peasant fit into the social and economic structure of China? What ideology means most to the peasant?
2. What are the characteristics of the Chinese family? What are the implications of family organization and family life for the individual peasant?
3. What are the major factors determining the peasant's way of life and standard of living?
4. What events do the last two paragraphs imply?

THE PEASANT *

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* From Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, THUNDER OUT OF CHINA, (William Sloane Associates, New York: 1961) pp. 20-32 passim.

Describes China as a land of peasants with 80% of the four hundred million population living in villages. The peasant culture is a family culture bound together by poverty and ignorance. The peasant has been crushed by speculation, war lords, and Western commerce and strait jacketed by their ancient feudal relationships. China is, according to the article, perhaps the only country in the world where the people eat less, live more bitterly, and are clothed worse than they were five hundred years ago. Hence, when the peasant revolts he is especially barbarian. The authors conclued: "The great question of China is whether any democratic form of government can ease these tensions by wise laws, peacefully, before the peasant takes the law into his own hands and sets the countryside to flame."

THE COMING OF THE WEST

Stating the Issue

In 1492, Christopher Columbus struck out across the Atlantic in search of the shining land called Cathay which had been so vividly described by Marco Polo two hundred years before. The expedition of Columbus was designed to re-establish contact with a civilization that had appeared far superior to that of Europe. He was eager to find not only gold and luxurious imports but also to bring back the wealth of learning, literature, and science for which China was famous in the European mind.

Columbus never achieved his goal, but later Europeans did eventually re-establish contact with the great "Middle Kingdom" as the Chinese called their land. In 1552 Portuguese merchants established the first permanent trading outpost in China at Macao; others soon followed. In addition, thousands of missionaries set out to convert the Chinese to Christianity. The rush of westerners to carve up China was on.

Westerners never colonized China in the way they had colonized Australia, North America, or South America. They were content to fight wars to gain commercial concessions from the emperor, to win control of ports, and to obtain rights to carry on their affairs in China without Chinese intervention. The result, as Sun Yat-sen was later to note, was that Europe got most of the benefits of colonial rule without many responsibilities. As a result of this arrangement, China did not benefit materially from western intervention as did countries which were thoroughly colonized. For example, when the British took over India, they established railroads, industries, and governments and trained natives for government posts. None of these benefits accrued to China.

The end result of this peculiar kind of contact produced an interesting response from the Chinese. Since China was not subdued by the West, the Chinese believed that they still controlled their own destiny. The reaction of literary men and government officials to the western impact was to call for certain kinds of reform. In time the reform movement gradually blossomed into a revolution from which the communists ultimately emerged victorious.

The readings in this section trace the Chinese reaction to the western impact and the changes that this reaction produced in the affairs of China. As you read, keep in mind the following questions: What western ideas and institutions were the Chinese interested in adopting? What changes did the Chinese propose to make in their political, social and economic order? What aspects of traditional China did the Chinese cling to? How did the Chinese reaction to the west ultimately lead to Communist domination?

READING VII

CHINESE REACTION TO THE COMING OF THE WEST

After Marco Polo and some of his contemporaries had traveled to China at the end of the thirteenth century, the Chinese emperors sealed off their giant empire from western contact for nearly three hundred years. The period between 1300 and 1600 was a time of ferment in Europe. It was the period of the Renaissance, the emergence of the market economy, the growth of nation states, the development of science, the Protestant Reformation, and overseas expansion. To some degree, these great movements in Europe were touched off by contact with China, for Europeans admired the Empire of the Great Khan and they learned much from the Chinese. The Ming successors of Kublai Khan, however, had only disdain for the inferior civilization of the West, and they determined to keep the "barbarians," as they called them, out of China.

As Europe underwent great changes, European countries began to seek out new lands for commercial and political exploitation. By 1600 Europeans had come once again to China, this time not as products of a feudal society but as representatives of modern nations with great economic, social, and cultural achievements. China had been left behind. The renewed contact of the two civilizations eventually produced a reaction on the part of the Chinese. Reading VII traces that reaction from the time in which western contact was reestablished in 1600 to the end of the nineteenth century. As you read, consider the following questions.

1. What are the attitudes toward the west expressed by the Chinese? Do you detect a change in attitude? When does the change occur? What event do you think might have been responsible for this change in attitude? (consult chronological chart).

2. What aspects of western society do the Chinese most admire? What aspects do they shun? What do you think accounts for these attitudes?

3. What implications do the reactions of the Chinese have for the old, traditional society?

A CHRONOLOGY OF WESTERN CONTACT WITH CHINA

75-1292	Marco Polo travels in China and works for Emperor Kublai Khan. Several European Christian missionaries travel in China.
57	Portuguese settle at Macao and set up a trading operation.
22	Johann Adam Schall von Bell reforms the Chinese calendar along European lines.
41	The Dutch set up trading outpost at Malacca.
50-1720	Jesuit priests are installed at court of Emperor to bring scientific learning to China.
57	Europeans are restricted to trading only at Canton--all other Chinese ports closed.
34	United States merchants begin trading at Canton.
05	Christian literature is banned by an imperial decree, and a Christian missionary executed.
16	The British ambassador is sent away from Peking without being received by the Emperor.
21	Western merchants step up the importation of opium into China.
39	The Chinese take steps to stop opium trade.
41-1852	War with the British results in a Chinese defeat; the Treaty of Nanking opens new ports to Great Britain and cedes Hong Kong to England.
44	A treaty with the United States gives the right to Americans in China to be tried for civil and criminal offenses committed in China against Chinese in United States courts (principle of extra-territoriality).
58	Treaties with Great Britain, France, United States and Russia open eleven more ports, extend extra-territoriality, and lower Chinese tariffs.
54-1889	A great increase of Protestant missionaries operating in China takes place.
72-1881	120 Chinese students go to study in the United States.
76	A treaty with Britain opens ten additional ports.
31	Indo-China is ceded to France.
94-1895	War with Japan ends in a Chinese defeat
96	Germans occupy Kiachow.
93	In a scramble for concessions in China, western nations compete to take over Chinese ports.
00	In the Boxer Rebellion, Chinese militia forces terrorize western missionaries, merchants, and government officials and are finally put down by western arms.

THE ATTITUDE OF CHINESE WRITERS TO THE WEST

* From Helmut G. Callis, CHINA: CONFUCIAN AND COMMUNIST, New York, Henry Holt and Company: 1959), 163, 168, 178; from Ssu-Yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST (Atheneum, New York: 1963) 51, 70-71, 76-77, 168-169.

Chinese writers in 1601, 1793, 1834, 1860, 1867, 1898 comment upon the West's impact upon China. Includes response to missionaries, trade and diplomatic overtures and the gradual appreciation that China must adopt Western military methods and practical application of knowledge so that she might resist foreign encroachment.

READING VIII

THE PROGRAM OF A REVOLUTIONARY

The Chinese response to the western impact began to take its toll on the traditional society which was still dominated by the Manchu dynasty. Scholar officials began to advocate reform openly, and the ruling dynasty began to give in. In particular the dynasty welcomed advances in technology and commerce, but its leaders shunned any thought of beginning western style government in China. The last effective Manchu ruler, the dowager Empress Tzu H'si, actually embarked on a reactionary course designed to give more authority to the central government.

The defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the uproar following the Boxer Rebellion (1900), however, were preludes to the eventual overthrow of the traditional government. In 1911 revolutionaries began to supplant the old government in the southern provinces of China, and gradually a new government based on European parliamentary forms was established. The various revolutionary leaders, however, could not agree on a permanent constitution and began fighting each other. Effective power fell into the hands of military governors who had been installed as martial rulers in China's provinces. The revolutionaries found that they had to fight these generals as well as Manchu officials.

At the conclusion of the First World War, the influence of the war lords began to wane as one revolutionary leader emerged as the strongest man in China. This was Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Sun had been educated in western universities and had returned to China to participate in the revolution. He vied with other revolutionary leaders for dominance in the movement; by the 1920's he was in control. Part of his effectiveness was due to the popularity of his program, which is the subject of Reading VIII. In the "Three People's Principles" Dr. Sun spelled out policies by which he hoped that China might bring herself into the modern world. As you read his program, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What aspects of the western nations does Dr. Sun wish to copy? Which aspects of traditional culture does he wish to maintain? How does he intend to blend these two cultures? Do you think his program is realistic?

2. What political adjustments does Dr. Sun wish to make? What ideological adjustments does he wish to make? What is the purpose of each of these adjustments?

3. How does Dr. Sun intend to alleviate China's economic distress? Do you think this program is practical? Do you think this program would solve the problems of the Chinese economy?

THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES OF THE KUOMINTANG *

* From William Theodore De Bary, Wing Tsit Chan and Chester Tan, SOURCES OF CHINESE TRADITION. (Columbia University Press, New York: 1964), pp. 106-107, 107-108, 109, 111-113, 114-115, 116-117, 117-118, 119, Volume II.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen is quoted here with his plea for nationalistic spirit, democratization of government, and revolutionary reconstruction of the country to bring China into the twentieth century.

READING IX

THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER

Dr. Sun's program of the Three People's Principles had two roots. One root was firmly planted in the soil of traditional China; the other grew out of the western influence on the Chinese. When Dr. Sun became the political leader of China in the early 1920's, his program spurred his followers to work for the creation of a new China by blending the old society with new western ideas.

But the brave new world the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun's party, dreamed of never came to be. In the end, the Communist Party supplanted the Kuomintang (or People's Nationalist Party) and ultimately achieved the necessary power to put its program into operation.

How did this come to be? Why did the Kuomintang, which by its program seemed to offer China her best hope of preserving what was good in the traditional society combined with the modern methods of the West, fail to achieve its goals? The following reading by an eminent American scholar of China, tries to explain why the small Communist Party succeeded in displacing the mammoth Kuomintang. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. What aspects of the traditional society contributed to the Communist success? What aspects of the western influence contribute to the Communist success?
2. Why did the Kuomintang fail to achieve its goals? What external forces contributed to its failure? What mistakes did it make that helped bring its downfall?
3. In what ways did the Communists change the thrust of the Revolution?

PERSPECTIVE ON THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION *

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* From A. Doak Barnett, COMMUNIST CHINA IN PERSPECTIVE (Praeger, New York: 1962) pages 17-26.

This article describes the disillusionment of the intellectuals of the Kuomintar with parliamentary methods of change and the influence of the Russian Revolutior upon China, the devastating effects of the Sino-Japanese War, and the relevance of these things to the success of the Communists in China. The author relates how the strategy evolved by the top Chinese Communist leaders was tailor-made to fit China's specific situation. He ends his discussion by questioning whether the West's impact upon the non-Western world will prove to be more destructive than constructive.

CHINA UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

Stating the Issue

The basic elements of Chinese civilization--its values, political system, social structure, and economy--lasted for 1500 years. Until the nineteenth century, no one in China seriously questioned the Confucian values, the Imperial government, the land-based economy, or the highly rigid class structure. When China found herself being defeated by western powers in war after war, the first serious questioning of the traditional culture began. Even then, the Chinese scholar-officials did not wish to change the basic aspects of their society. They merely wished to add western technology and military prowess to their traditional system.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chinese began the first basic alteration of their traditional society in 1500 years. The revolutionists began by developing a new political system. The new government never had a chance to gain any stability, however, and China was plagued by internal rebellions and external enemies for the first half of the century. Finally the Communist Party established itself as the dominant ruling group in China in 1949. With the Party safely in command of the destiny of China, the Communist leaders began a fundamental reconstruction of Chinese society.

The Communist leaders have vowed that they will destroy the last remaining vestiges of the traditional society and build a Marxist-Leninist society in its place. Taking their cue from the writings of Marx, Lenin, and their own leader, Mao Tse-tung, they have set out to build a modern nation based upon the ideals of western Communism.

But western observers have noticed subtle shifts away from the hard line of Communist ideology in the economic, political and social policies stated by Mao and the other Communist leaders. Programs have begun which seem to have goals completely opposite from the tenets of Marx and Lenin. How to explain these shifts? This final portion of the unit on China will investigate these shifts in order to determine why these apparent changes in ideology have taken place. Are they merely new methods for obtaining Communist goals, as the Chinese Communist leaders claim? Or have the leaders been forced to modify their goals in the face of the long tradition of Confucian China? Or are the Communist leaders not interested in ideology at all but merely in the practical matters of defending their country against attack and keeping their people from starvation? These are the questions upon which the remainder of this unit on China will focus.

READING X

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

The ideology of the Chinese Communist Party is drawn from the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladmir Lenin, Josef Stalin and other Western Communist leaders and theorizers. Marx and Engels pronounced the Communist ideology for the first time in 1848 in their jointly written "Communist Manifesto." This pamphlet proclaimed that the proletariat--the working men--would carry out a revolution against their bourgeois masters by seizing the means of production, and turning them over to the use of all the people. For a time, the working men would establish a dictatorial government which would oppress all of the old capitalist oppressors until the values, the economic system, the political system, and the social structure of the old bourgeois regime were completely crushed. This dictatorship of the proletariat would pave the way to the ultimate goal of a classless society in which no government would exist, all of the means of production would produce for the good of all the people, and everyone would share equally in wealth.

The doctrine of Marx and Engels was modified by Lenin. He stated that the proletarians, as a class, could not hope to organize sufficiently to overthrow its capitalist masters. A revolutionary vanguard, he said, would have to carry out the revolution for them. A hard core of Party members would seize the government and the means of production in the name of the proletariat and carry out the dictatorship of the revolution. Once the last remnant of the old capitalist society had been crushed the state would then slowly "wither away" leaving the classless society.

The ideology of the Chinese Communists is based on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The Chinese leaders have further modified them to fit the particular circumstances of Chinese society. The most articulate spokesman of Chinese Communism has been its chief revolutionary leader, Mao Tse-tung. Upon completing the expulsion of the Chinese Nationalist government in 1949, Mao proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic and defined its ideology in the excerpt included in this reading. As you study Mao's words, consider the following questions:

1. How has Mao altered the theories of Marx and Lenin to suit the particular needs of China?
2. What implications does this ideology have for the government of China? How will leaders be recruited? How will decisions be made? What will be the role of the individual citizen?
3. What are the goals of the Chinese Communists? What kind of society do they hope to construct?
4. To what extent do Mao's ideas depart from traditional Confucian beliefs? To what extent are his ideas similar to Confucius' ideology?

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY *

* From Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank, A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM (Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1952), pp. 456-60; from SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG in Vol. II, SOURCES OF CHINESE TRADITION, op. cit., pp. 225-26.

Mao Tse-Tung defends "the people's democratic dictatorship." He speaks of the expediency of dictatorship and its tailoring to the Chinese environment.

READING XI

THE APPARATUS OF DECISION-MAKING IN COMMUNIST CHINA

The Chinese Communist leaders freely admit that China is a totalitarian dictatorship. The Communist leaders believe that the advance toward the classless society cannot be made without the dictatorial leadership of the Communist Party, for only the Party knows the principles of Marxism-Leninism on which the new society will be built. All political decisions, therefore, must be made by the Party.

Because the responsibility for making decisions falls upon its shoulders, the Party has had to develop a decision-making process that would insure that all decisions would continue the resolute advance to a communist society. Some process had to be developed to assure that all decisions would follow the Marxist-Leninist line and that the decision-makers would have the necessary information about the problems they faced in implementing their system.

Reading XI contains evidence about the decision-making apparatus that the Communists have developed in China. The reading contains four selections, each of which sheds light on the decision-making process. As you read these selections, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What are the formal rules for making decisions in Communist China? How do these rules affect the flow of information to the decision-makers? To whom do these rules give the responsibility for making legislative and executive decisions?

2. What is the role of the Communist Party in making decisions? What is the role of the State? Why is each assigned its particular role?

3. What does the case study of local decision-making reveal about the informal rules for decision-making? What does it reveal about the flow of information to decision-makers? What does it reveal about who has the responsibility for making decisions?

4. How has the decision-making process been changed from traditional Chinese government? Will this decision-making process insure that the Communist goals will be the major considerations in making a decision? Will this decision-making process insure that the decision-makers know the reality of a situation before making a decision?

PARTY AND STATE *

The following selection contains a Chinese leader's interpretation of the relationship between the Party and State.

* From John Wilson Lewis, MAJOR DOCTRINES OF COMMUNIST CHINA, (W. W. Norton Co., New York: 1964), pages 216-217, 126-130, passim, 182-183.

The Communist Party is described as the core of the system of the people's democratic dictatorship, directing and enforcing Party policies through the organs of the state. Excerpts from the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party describe "democratic centralism" and the organization of the Party hierarchy. These excerpts show that discussion is possible before policy decisions are made, but that once the decision is made the lower Party organization must carry it out unconditionally. The article describes Party Congress election, delegate numbers, meeting sessions and includes a case study of decision-making at the local level.

A WESTERN OBSERVER'S VIEW OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT *

* From A. Doak Barnett, COMMUNIST CHINA AND ASIA, A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN POLICY, (Random House, New York: 1960), 14-18 *passim*.

The author sees the Communist Party of China as the ultimate political authority and the source of all important decision-making on the mainland today. Party members occupy the strategic positions in government at all levels and policy decisions on key problems are first made within the Party's Central Committee. Graft and corruption have been stamped out and though the Chinese masses do not take part in decision making, they are politicized and made conscious of national affairs.

READING XII

DECISION-MAKERS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Ultimately, the most important factor in decision-making is the person who has to make the decision. The kinds of decisions that are made always reflect the values and the personality of the people who are entrusted with decision-making power. To understand decision-making in Communist China, therefore, we must first understand who the leaders are and how they are recruited.

The leaders of traditional China were recruited through the civil service examination system. Since the examinations concentrated on the Confucian beliefs, China was always assured of having leaders who were well-schooled in the fundamental ideas of the Chinese sage. Though they were capable of moral leadership, the decision-makers of traditional China were not capable of making practical decisions about the use of science and technology, military strategy, or economic policy. Because the leaders were not schooled in the practical arts, China fell far behind the West in economic growth and military strength.

The Communists have attempted to change the leadership patterns in China. According to their theories of Marxism-Leninism, the leaders of China should be the vanguard of the working class who consider the march to the Communist utopia their most important consideration. On the other hand, the leaders of China must be practical men, able to translate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into specific programs designed to meet particular, practical problems. Though the Communists have tried to make these changes in leadership, they still face the ancient traditions of old China, and they have had to account for these traditions in developing their leadership patterns.

Reading XII concentrates on the recruitment of leaders in Communist China and the social backgrounds of those men who now occupy leadership positions. As you read the selections that follow, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How does one become a leader in Communist China? How does this system differ from the recruitment of leaders in traditional China? Will this system provide leaders who know the general theories of Marxism-Leninism? Will this system provide leaders who can solve practical problems?

2. Who is the ideal Communist, according to Liu Shao-chi? What evidence is there that the system of recruiting leaders in China will provide such leaders? Is Liu Shao-chi's ideal Communist a practical man? Is he a man who understands Communist ideology and can act in accordance with it?

3. What are the social backgrounds of Chinese leaders? What is the relationship between the system of recruitment and the kind of leaders China has?

4. What are the implications of the social backgrounds of Chinese leaders for the kinds of decisions that will be made in China?

HOW TO BECOME A LEADER: THE FORMAL RULES *

* From John Wilson Lewis, MAJOR DOCTRINES OF COMMUNIST CHINA (W. W. Norton Co., New York: 1964), 121-124 passim.

Selections from the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party spell out the formal rules for achieving leadership positions in China.

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST *

The following selection is taken from Liu Shao-chi's HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST. Liu Shao-chi is Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic and a leading member of the Communist Party.

* From William Theodore De Bary et al., op. cit., Vol. II, pages 249-50, 251, 252, 254. The good communist is exhorted to study Marxism-Leninism, to understand it, and to put those principles into practice. The Party's interests are supreme at all times.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF CHINESE DECISION-MAKERS

* From John Wilson Lewis, LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNIST CHINA, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York: 1963) 108; Donald W. Klein, "The Next Generation of Chinese Communist Leaders," in THE CHINA QUARTERLY, No. 12, October-December 1962, 59-66.

Charts revealing the social class, education and experience of Chinese decision-makers with the Lewis table giving only a numerical breakdown in terms of workers, peasants, intellectuals, other and the Klein tables dividing the leaders into five groups with more specific backgrounds delineated.

READING XIII

DOMESTIC DECISION-MAKING: THE COMMUNISTS AND AGRICULTURE

The most startling announcement to come out of Peking since the Communists took power was the 1958 policy statement that the regime would organize all of China's 500,000,000 peasants into giant communes comprising 2000 to 4000 households. Each of these communes would be administered by Party-selected officials who would regulate every minute in the day for the members of the commune. The communes were to be more than agricultural production units. All communes would also allocate some of their human resources at various times during the year to industrial production of one sort or another, and part of every day was to be devoted to military training. All members of the commune would eat together in a common mess hall, children were to be placed in commune-run nursery schools, and older members of the commune would be placed in "happy homes for the aged." In short, the commune was more than an economic unit; it was to become a way of life for 500,000,000 peasants.

Initially the commune paid big economic dividends for the regime. Agricultural production increased significantly during the first few years of the communes and industrial production from the communes also made some remarkable strides. In the early 1960's, however, Chinese agriculture fell upon hard times. Grain production began to decrease to the point that Chinese officials had to go hat in hand to several foreign governments to negotiate agreements for importing wheat into China. At the same time, the Government began to modify its commune policy.

The creation of communes completely disrupted the traditional way of life of the peasant. For centuries the Chinese peasant has been accustomed to tilling his own acres and passing them on to his sons when he dies. Yet the regime decided that these traditional ways must go. For what reasons? Did they wish to further progress toward their communist utopia? Did they believe the commune was a more efficient unit for agricultural production? And once the step was made, why did the communists begin to retreat from the commune system? These questions continue to puzzle foreign students of the Chinese government. Reading XIII contains some evidence that will cast light upon these questions. As you read the selections that follow, ask yourself the following questions:

1. Why did the Communist regime decide to organize agricultural production under the communes? Why did they decide to retreat from the commune system in the 1960's?
2. Do you think there is any relationship between the failures of the commune and the disruption of traditional ways? What implications does your answer carry for the economic development of traditional societies?
3. To what extent can you trust the Communique of the Central Committee regarding the motives underlying the creation of the communes? To what extent can you trust the conclusions of Claude Buss, who wrote the selection on Communist agricultural policy?

THE POLICY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE *

* From "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Establishment of the People's Communes in the Rural Areas, August 29, 1958," in John Wilson Lewis, op. cit., 288-289, 293.

This official communique gives the Party's rationale for establishing communes.

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNES *

* From Claude A. Buss, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, (D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York: 1962) pages 50, 53-59.

A Western historian writes about the decision to institute communes and the way they served the Party in self-sustaining efficiency, helping the social revolution, and facilitating Party control. As the original regulations proved too rigorous, easements were ordered and compromise of ideology had to be made with human nature.

READING XIV

DECISION-MAKING IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

The history of China for the past two hundred years has been a history of military and diplomatic defeat. Beginning with the first Opium War with Great Britain in 1841, China has suffered a long series of military reversals at the hands of the western powers and the empire of Japan. Technologically underdeveloped, China could not withstand the foreign invaders who entered her major harbors in the nineteenth century with gun boats and established themselves as virtual rulers of the Chinese ports. By the end of the nineteenth century, every major port in China was controlled either by Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States, Russia or Japan. The twentieth century continued the string of defeats. Japan subdued China during the Second World War, and it took the collective action of the Allies to free her from foreign domination. Since the Communists have taken power, aggression against the Chinese mainland has ceased, but China has not been able to get her way in Taiwan, Korea, or Southeast Asia.

In addition to confronting the bare facts of China's military history, the Communist leaders must also account for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in developing their foreign policy. According to Marx, the Communist Revolution was to be world-wide; workers in every country were to throw off their chains together and begin the march to a classless society. When the first Communist Revolution in Russia did not include workers of every other country, the Communists redefined their theory. According to Stalin, the strong man of the Soviet Union, socialism would develop first in Russia and then would be exported to other countries, either by war or Russian-aided revolution. Stalin believed that all Communist countries would participate in the exportation of the revolution.

Since the Communists have taken power in China they have developed a foreign policy turned against the United States and other western countries which formerly held colonies in Asia. They have supported Communist parties in their neighboring Asian countries, and they have interfered in the Korean War, when United Nations troops, comprised mostly of United States forces, got too close to China's frontier. They have invaded India and interfered in the Indian-Pakistani war of 1965. Evidence indicates that they have also interfered in the internal affairs of Indonesia.

What is the basis of this policy? Why do the Chinese take such a warlike attitude toward the United States and other western powers? Why do they interfere in the internal affairs of their Asian neighbors? Why have they invaded neighboring countries? These decisions are all based upon a Chinese foreign policy that has been evolving since 1949. Reading XIV consists of a number of short foreign policy statements made by Chinese leaders and Chinese newspapers. As you read these selections, consider the following questions:

1. What motives lie behind the Chinese policy statements? About what do the Chinese Communists seem most concerned in foreign relations? What are the apparent goals of the Chinese?
2. To what extent do you think Chinese military history has influenced Communist foreign policy? To what extent do you think Communist ideology has influenced Chinese foreign policy?
3. What are the implications of Chinese foreign policy in her relations with the United States? With her Asian neighbors? With the Soviet Union? With other western powers?
4. What hypothesis could you formulate about Chinese Communist foreign policy from these selections?

CHINESE COMMUNIST FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS *

China Looks Afield

The CCP and the Chinese people constantly pay attention to the national liberation movements of people of various Asian, African, and Latin American countries. In his report to the first session of the Eighth National CCP Congress, Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i pointed out that national independence movements have already formed a powerful world force, and expressed the opinion that in the wake of the Second World War the comprehensive success of national independence movement is another development of great historical significance, second only to the formation of the international socialist camp. The CCP always considers that the support of national independence movements by the socialist countries fully corresponds with the interests of world peace.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Government of the Republic of India and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China . . .

Have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles:

(1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
(2) mutual non-aggression,
(3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
(4) equality and mutual benefit, and
(5) peaceful coexistence.

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* From Department of State Publication 7379, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, CHINESE COMMUNIST WORLD OUTLOOK, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (June, 1962), 83-119, passim.

A Policy of Friendly Cooperation

The principles underlying the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China are the defense of its national independence, sovereign freedom, rights, and territorial integrity, supporting a lasting international peace and friendly cooperation among the people of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

-- Chou En-lai, Report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the Afro-Asian Conference, May 13, 1955

Friendship With the Socialist Countries, Neutral Countries, and Colonial Peoples

Our country's principles in dealing with international affairs should be as follows: (1) to continue to consolidate and strengthen our eternal, unbreakable fraternal friendship with the great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; (2) to establish and develop friendly relations with the Asian, African and other countries which support the Five Principles; (3) to

Peace Through Struggle

In the final analysis, the securing of world peace mainly relies on the struggles undertaken by the peoples of the world. The present world situation is more favorable than ever to the struggle in defense of world peace. The countries in the socialist camp are growing stronger, and our unity, too, is growing from day to day. All attempts of the imperialists to sow discord are futile. The national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are developing vigorously. From South Korea to Turkey, from Cuba to Algeria, anti-imperialist revolutionary storms are breaking out continuously.

-- Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Speech of May 20, 1960

China Must Support Democratic Revolutions

This means that we must closely integrate the struggle for peace with the national democratic revolution of the colonies and semi-colonies and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. These two revolutionary struggles are indispensable to the fight for world peace. Only renegades such as the Tito group will brand our resolute implementation of the two slogans and our firm support for these two kinds of revolution as "stiff dogmatism," and even as an "attempt to export revolution" while lauding its own shameful actions of betrayal of these two slogans and opposition to the two kinds of revolution as a "creative development of Marxism-Leninism."

-- Wu Tsiang, "The 'Quiet' Europe and the 'Unquiet' Asia, Africa, and Latin America," People's Daily, June 21, 1960

For the Sake of Peace, America Must Leave Asia

U.S. imperialism must completely get out of the southern part of Vietnam; it must get out of all Asia! Only in this way can the peace of Indochina and Asia be effectively safeguarded.

-- People's Daily, July 20, 1960

China Needs Peace

The Chinese people are ardently peace-loving people. The 650 million liberated Chinese people have worked with resolute determination and diligent hands to rapidly change the poor and blank background of their own country. Meanwhile, they are expeditiously carrying out their socialist construction with full confidence. We need an environment of lasting international peace. Therefore the Chinese Government and people have all along pursued a peaceful foreign policy and upheld the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems.

-- "Another Example of Peaceful Coexistence," People's Daily, August 28, 1960

British Policy Must Change

The British Government, while recognizing the People's Republic of China, has been helping the United States to keep the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the seat of China usurped by it in the United Nations. Britain is also the propaganda center of the absurd contention about the undetermined status of "Taiwan." Recently, the flirtation between the British Government and the Chiang Kai-shek clique has markedly increased. China is willing to see its relations with Britain improved, but it will never acquiesce in or tolerate the British practice of following the United States in creating "two Chinas." If Britain does not change its double-faced attitude toward China, Sino-British relations will inevitably be adversely affected.

-- Chou En-lai, Report to the National People's Congress, February 10, 1958 (NCNA, Peiping, February 11, 1958)

Unavoidable War

Our ambition and great aim is to free mankind forever from the disasters of war. However, we know that war is a natural product of class society and the exploitation system and that the system of imperialism is the root of modern wars. As long as imperialism exists, wars are unavoidable. An imperialist counterrevolutionary war can only be eliminated by a revolutionary war of the people. The only way to eliminate wars and bring about a lasting peace is to eradicate the root of wars.

-- Hsiao Hua, Speech of June 3, 1960

Chinese Support for National Democratic Revolutions

The Chinese people firmly support the national and democratic movements of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples and the struggle of the people in the capitalist countries for democratic liberties and socialism.

-- Chou En-lai, Speech Before General Council of WFTU, June 6, 1960

China Not To Blame for Bad Sino-American Relations

While we were on our tour [of South and Southeast Asia], quite a number of countries expressed concern over the relations between China and the United States, hoping out of good intentions to promote an improvement in the relations between the two countries. The Chinese people do wish to be friendly with the American people. However, we are not to blame for the long failure to improve the relations between China and the United States. It is the United

States Government which, using the international disputes between China and the United States as a lever to create tension in the Far East, is obstructing improvement of Sino-American relations . . . The United States not only refuses to recognize the People's Republic of China, but is also hampering other nations from establishing friendly relations with China. It continues to obstruct the restoration to China of its rightful place in the United Nations. It continues to apply a trade embargo against China and is further stepping up its efforts to prevent other nations from developing trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit with China. What is the most serious is that the United States not only refuses to negotiate seriously on the question of the tension in the Taiwan area, but is intensifying its military control over Taiwan, expanding its military bases and planning to install guided missiles there. This is a deliberate attempt to aggravate the tension in the Taiwan area. Moreover, the United States also attempts, through the Sino-American talks [at Geneva, later at Warsaw], to induce China to recognize the present state of United States occupation of Taiwan, thus to create a situation of two Chinas.

-- Chou En-lai, Report to the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CNA, Peiping, March 5, 1957)

READING XV

THOUGHT CONTROL IN COMMUNIST CHINA

The Chinese Communists are attempting to tear 800,000,000 Chinese from their traditional way of life and prod them into the future. In order to make a modern nation out of China, the Communists realize that they will have to break down the old value system as well as the old government and economy. But changing the political and economic systems is a far less difficult task than changing values which have a 2000 year history.

Accordingly, the Communists have embarked upon a massive crusade to change the beliefs of the Chinese people. Often they resort to strong-arm methods; "reactionaries" are thrown in jail, and there forced to mend their ways or live out their days in prison. In some cases, the Chinese have tried to change the values of stubborn intellectuals by psychological means, called brain-washing. But the Communists realize that force and brain-washing cannot do the whole job. Force cannot make people enthusiastic supporters of the regime and brain-washing is slow and expensive.

Reading XV contains three selections which reveal some of the ways the Communists are trying to bring about mass conversion to their way of thinking. As you read these selections, consider the following questions:

1. What aspects of the traditional value system are the Communists trying to root out of the Chinese mind?
2. What new values are the Communists attempting to inculcate in the Chinese people?
3. What methods do the Chinese Communists use to persuade people to their way of thinking? How effective do you think these techniques are?
4. Is there any evidence contained in the reading to indicate that the Chinese are having difficulty breaking down traditions?

THE STUDY GROUP *

* From Harriet C. Mills, "Thought Reform: Ideological Remolding in China," in THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, December, 1959, pages 71-73, 75, 76-77.

The Communist study group, an attempt to convince the people of the justice and correctness of the Party position and thus win their support through intellectual acceptance of theory, leading to spontaneous, energetic support of principles, is depicted. Participation in body and orally is required; active criticism encouraged.

A CHINESE FILM STAR *

In the late 1950's a Danish citizen named Karl Eskelund, who is married to a Chinese girl he met at Peking University, was traveling through China. An account of his interview with a Chinese actress follows:

* From Robert E. Evans, editor, REPORT FROM RED CHINA, (Bantam Books: 1962) pages 258-259, 261-262.

A Chinese film star is interviewed and in distinct contrast from what is expected of a Western film star. Theatre is required to be a reinforcement of Party principles and is a method of propaganda and education, not simply entertainment or an art form.

A COMMUNIST PRIMARY SCHOOL *

* From "In a Peking Primary School," in CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, July-August 1954, page 37.

Indoctrination in the elementary school is described.

READING XVI

WHERE IS CHINA GOING?

For the past month we have been studying the civilization of the world's most populous country, China. We began by examining the traditional culture of that ancient land to learn about the institutions, the values, and the mores of her people. We studied the ways in which the political system, the economic system, religion, values and customs were related to each other and blended together to form a coherent culture.

Next we examined the ideas and institutions which were diffused from the West and the agencies which diffused them. Europeans began to occupy ports in the sixteenth century and to win extra-territorial rights for their citizens. These limited contacts led the Chinese to reject western ideas and values but to emulate western technology which was so superior that a few armed westerners could dominate whole areas of the empire. Finally, in disgust because of the obvious failure of the old ways in the face of the western challenge, a revolution took place, and the revolutionaries tried to establish a western-style government. In the 1940's this government fell before the onslaught of Chinese Communists who won the support of the peasantry.

Since 1949 the Chinese Communist Party has been in control of the country. The party leaders established a Soviet-type, totalitarian political system and imitated other aspects of Soviet life. But the Soviet model did not exactly suit Chinese conditions; in addition personal rivalries of the leaders drove the two nations apart. In recent years the Chinese Communists have tended to develop their own version of Marxism, a version in keeping with their own conditions.

How much of Chinese communism is western and how much comes from the East? Will the Party be able to continue to impose western ideologies and institutions upon the Chinese or will still further modifications of the Russian model become necessary? Can the Chinese overcome the host of problems which beset them, problems such as population growth, backward agriculture, a small and obsolete industrial establishment and the host of social problems which haunt a nation transforming itself in a generation from a traditional society to a modern world where innovation is the order of the day? What will Chinese foreign policy be now that her scientists have exploded their first atomic bomb? All these questions trouble Americans.

Reading XVI summarizes the progress made by the Chinese since 1949 and raises some of the issues discussed in this introduction. As you read it, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What have been the objectives of the Chinese Communist Party? To what degree have they been successful in their pursuit of these objectives?
2. How much of Chinese communism is western? How much is eastern?
3. What is going to happen in China?

CHINA TODAY *

* From A. Doak Barnett, COMMUNIST CHINA IN PERSPECTIVE, (Frederick A. Praeger, New York: 1962), 27-28, 29-33, 35-37, 48-50.

A report on the Communist imprint on Chinese society after little more than a decade of control. A summary of political, social and economic change and some questions about China's future.

CHINA

Lesson Plan, Reading 1

INTRODUCTION

Subject Objective:	To know that the Communists in China are trying to change the traditional society of China into a modern (innovative) society by totalitarian methods. To know that modernization means industrialization, creating livable cities, developing an effective government, developing national loyalty, and promoting the equality of peoples.
Skill Objectives:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - development of generalization on the basis of specific items noticed by an eyewitness. Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - recognizing the unstated assumptions of the author's frame of reference and of the students' frames of reference.
Materials:	Reading I Single concept slides: "Scenes of Communist China."

SHOW SLIDES: Have students write down what most impresses them in each picture.	This exercise is designed to have students reveal their own frame of reference.
Have several students read their lists. Ask: "Why do you think you noticed these things rather than others?	Write the students' impressions on the board. Then use the question to work toward a definition of the students' frame of reference. Try to develop a general statement that will describe the frame of reference of the students.
Did the same aspects of Chinese society impress the author of your reading? What did impress him?	Get the students to indicate the differences and the similarities between what they noticed and what Chandra-Sekhar noticed. From these observations try to develop a general statement that will describe the differences between an Asian's frame of reference and a westerner's frame of reference.
On the basis of these two views of Chinese society, what general statements can we make about Communist China?	Work toward a number of general statements that will describe the nature and goals of Chinese totalitarianism.

AV: Scenes of Communist China: color photos showing heavy industry, use of animal and human heavy labor, women laborers, children laborers. The emphasis is on showing how China allocates her human resources.

TRADITIONAL VALUES: CONFUCIANISM

Subject Objective: To know that Confucianism is a set of rules designed to provide harmony in interpersonal relations.

Skill Objective: Extrapolation: (2.30) - recognizing the implications of Confucian values for the political, economic and social systems of China.

Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to discover from the specific rules of Confucianism that Confucianism aims at creating harmony in interpersonal relationships.

Materials: Reading 2

What are Confucius' rules designed to do?	The students should synthesize the subject objective from the specific rules. The teacher should guide discussion to this end by allowing students to suggest answers and then test their answers against the sayings of Confucius. By the end of the discussion the students should realize that Confucian rules provide a formula for successful interpersonal relationships.
On the basis of this conclusion, what do you think Confucius and the Chinese who accept his ideas value the most?	This question is designed to see if the students have learned the major subject of the lesson. The question is worded differently from the first question in order to see if the students can transfer their knowledge from one question to another. They should be able to respond that Confucius valued harmony in interpersonal relationships.
GROUP EXERCISE: Divide class into three groups. Have each group answer ONE of the three questions below.	Assign one of the questions to each group. Make sure that they use the analytical questions for studying political, economic, and social systems in drawing their implications, e.g.:
1. What are the implications of Confucianism for the Chinese political system?	**POLITICAL:** Who are the leaders and how do they gain and maintain support? Who makes decisions and how are decisions made? What is the role of the individual in the political system?
2. What are the implications of Confucianism for the Chinese economic system?	**ECONOMIC:** What should be produced? How should it be produced? For whom should it be produced?
3. What are the implications of Confucianism for the Chinese social system?	**SOCIAL:** What are the social groups and how are they determined? How does one achieve membership in a social group and how does membership influence his behavior? How are privileges distributed among the social groups? How and under what circumstances do social groups come into contact with one another?
GROUP REPORTS	Have each group report its findings and see that the students in the other groups copy down the findings in their notes.

TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT: THE CIVIL SERVICE

Subject Objectives: To know that Chinese civil servants were recruited by the civil service examination on the basis of their knowledge of Confucianism.

To know administrative decisions were concerned mostly with maintaining harmony and peace.

To know that the government was more concerned with the moral development of the Chinese people than with satisfying their practical needs.

Skill Objectives: Production of a unique communication: (5.30)- the development of a hypothesis about leadership, decision making, or the role of the individual.

Judgments in terms of external criteria: (6.20) - evaluation of political system insofar as it promotes Confucian values.

Materials: Reading 3

WRITING EXERCISE: Divide class into three sections. Have each student in each section write a paragraph in which he answers one of the analytical questions about political systems.	Assign the students in one section to write a paragraph in which they answer the question "Who are the political leaders and how do they go about gaining and maintaining leadership positions?" Have the students in another section write on "On what basis are decisions made?" and finally, have the third section write on "What is the role of the individual in the political system or how does the political system affect the individual?"
REPORTS	Call upon the students to read their paragraphs and discuss each paragraph with the whole class. Make sure that the students justify their assertions with specific evidence from the reading. Guide the discussions to the three subject objectives listed above.
Let's check this political system against Confucian values. How well does it live up to the values we defined yesterday?	Have the students check their knowledge of the political system against the implications of Confucianism that they decided upon with Reading 2. The students should see that the political system is geared to the promotion of Confucian values.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL CLASSES: THE SCHOLAR-GENTRY

Subject Objectives: To know that of the various social classes in Chinese society, the scholar-gentry held the dominant position because they controlled the government and the economy of China.

To know how the scholar class was determined, how one became a member of the scholar class, what contact the scholars had with the rest of the people, and what privileges and responsibilities were bestowed on the scholar-gentry.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of elements: (4.10) - of the Chinese social structure and the elements of the scholar class.

Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - the development of a hypothesis about how the scholar-gentry was able to maintain its dominant position in Chinese society and thus retain the traditional social structure.

Materials: Reading 4

Let's apply our analytical questions to the scholar-gentry:

1. How is the gentry class determined?
2. What privileges and responsibilities are accorded the scholar class?
3. How, and under what circumstances does the scholar class come into contact with other classes?
4. How does one become a member of the scholar-gentry?

The teacher should try to get the students to develop these questions on their own, if possible. By this time they should be well aware of the analytical questions concerning social structure. If the students cannot develop these questions, then the teacher should ask them. The students should be able to answer the questions from the reading.

1. Scholar-gentry are the intellectuals of China who hold or have held office in the imperial administration, and others who have passed the examination (see paragraph 4, page 19).

2. The responsibilities accruing to the gentry are the responsibilities of governing. Their privileges include exemption from court trials, land ownership, reduced taxation among others.

3. The scholar class came into contact with the rest of the population in the capacity of rulers and only in that capacity. There was no marriage outside the class and very little mercantile dealing with other classes. Indeed, the scholar-gentry tried to have as little contact with the people as possible.

4. One became a member of the scholar-gentry by passing the examinations, so theoretically anyone could earn this exalted status. In fact, however, the only people who could afford the education necessary to pass the exam were the sons of present scholars, hence social status was practically ascribed at birth.

GROUP WORK: Divide class into as many groups as is manageable. Ask each to develop a hypothesis about why the scholar-gentry remained the dominant class in China.

Have the students reexamine the reading to see why the scholar-gentry were able to maintain their monopoly of power, prestige and wealth. The students should relate the evidence to what they know of the ideology and the political system to see how they encouraged domination by the scholar-gentry.

REPORTS

Have each group report its hypothesis and center discussion around the proof of the hypothesis. The teacher should try to get the students to challenge each other, and seek evidence to meet each challenge.

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: VILLAGE AGRICULTURE

Subject Objectives: To know how the Chinese in the village of Taitou allocate their human, natural, and capital resources.

To know what is produced, how it is produced, and for whom in the village of Taitou.

Skill Objective: Analysis of elements: (4.10) - analysis of how human, natural, and capital resources are allocated.

Materials: Reading 5
Handout: "Allocation of Resources in Taitou"

HANDOUT-WRITING EXERCISE:
Have the students fill in the chart "Allocation of Resources in Taitou"

This exercise should encourage the students to analyze the economy of Taitou. A sample chart, filled in, might look like this:

RESOURCES	HOW ALLOCATED
Natural:	
Crop land about 90%	October-June: winter wheat and winter barley June-October: 50-60% in sweet potatoes (poorer families) 30% to millet (wealthy families) 10% to garden vegetables. peanuts, soybeans are cash crops.
Residential land about 5%	Also used for cottage industry
Gardens - about 5%	Also used as threshing ground
Human:	All families engaged in farming, 5-6 masons, Two people work in foundry, 3 families press oil Two people engaged in carpentry 3-4 weavers--all part-time.
Capital:	Farm animals, donkeys and oxen, plows, harrows, weeding and digging hoes, iron rakes, wooden and iron shovels, harvesting sickles, pitch forks, stone roller, flails, wheelbarrow used in farming. Artisans have some equipment for their particular trade, e. g., forge.

What determines how these resources are allocated?	The students should develop a hypothesis which explains how the traditional answers to the economic questions--what, how, and for whom--dictate how resources are allocated. For example, the allocation of land to various crops is the result of years of tradition. It is also dependent upon the relative wealth of the family. The allocation of human resources is dictated by the traditional value system which exalts work in the fields over work as a carpenter, etc.
How would you change the traditional village economy in order to make it produce more?	This question should encourage the students to speculate on the ways in which allocation of resources could be changed to increase production. For example, the widely scattered and diversified crop lands might be consolidated in a few crops. The capital resources might be improved by bringing in mechanical equipment. More specialization of the human resources might increase the productivity of the village.

THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES IN TAIWAN

RESOURCES	HOW ALLOCATED
Natural	
Human	
Capital	

TRADITIONAL CHINA: THE PEASANT

Subject Objective:	To know that the plight of the peasant is related to the traditional political, economic, social and value systems of China.
Skill Objective:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - the development of the relationships between the plight of the peasant and the structure and operation of traditional Chinese society.
Materials:	Reading 6 Essay Test

ADMINISTER ESSAY TEST
Allow twenty minutes.

What is responsible for the plight of the peasant as described by White and Jaccoby?

Spend the remainder of the period developing a hypothesis in answer to this question. The teacher should attempt to get the students to see the relationship between the traditional society - its ideology, political system, economy, and social structure - and the peasant's plight.

ESSAY TEST

Answer the following questions in an essay. You will have twenty minutes to write your response.

> Which of the following institutions of traditional China would be the easiest to change? Why?
>
> 1. political
> 2. social
> 3. economic

CHINA Lesson Plan, Reading 7

CHINESE REACTION TO THE COMING OF THE WEST

Subject Objectives: To know that the West did not colonize China but that it exploited China - it gained the privileges of colonization without the responsibilities.

To know that Chinese reaction to the West evolved from one of disdain to one of fear and respect for the material culture of the western nations but continuing disdain for western values and political institutions.

To know that Chinese contact with the West was through mercantile connections and through western educational systems.

Skill Objectives: Production of a unique communication: (5.10) - the formation of a hypothesis concerning China's reaction to the West.

Analysis of elements: (4.10) - extraction of statements from documents to justify hypothesis.

Materials: Reading 7

How would you compare western contact with China to western contact with India and Africa?	The students should achieve the first subject objective through discussing this question. In Africa (South Africa) the westerners settled the land and tried to establish their own country there, while in India they governed the country. In China, however, they achieved no such colonial status, only privileges of using certain ports for trade.
GROUP WORK: Divide class into five groups. Have each construct a hypothesis in answer to the question, "What was the Chinese reaction to the West?" on the basis of the selections they read.	This exercise is designed to have the students construct a hypothesis on the basis of fragmentary evidence which will then be modified by class discussion. Assign one group to write a hypothesis on the basis of the documents on page 39, the second on the basis of the documents on page 40, the third group on the basis of the document on pages 40-41, the fourth group on the basis of the document on page 42, the fifth group on the basis of the document on page 43.
REPORTS	Have each group report the hypothesis they developed with some indication of what evidence they used to develop the hypothesis.
How can we combine all your hypotheses into one hypothesis?	The discussion growing out of this question should aim to develop a single hypothesis in answer to the question. The hypothesis should include the change in attitude that came after the first Opium War; the emphasis on military and technological aspects of the culture; the quarrel over materialistic values; and the rejection of Christian values and western political ideas.

THE PROGRAM OF A REVOLUTIONARY

Subject Objectives: To know that Dr. Sun's program for the Kuomintang seeks to combine western principles with traditional Chinese principles.

To know that Dr. Sun's program is designed to modernize the political, economic, and social systems of China in order to make China an innovative society, capable of facing changing problems.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze Dr. Sun's program in terms of western and Chinese elements.

Judgments in terms of external criteria: (6.20) - to determine whether Dr. Sun's program is designed to modernize China (i.e., transform China into an innovative society).

Materials: Reading 8

WRITING EXERCISE: Make out a chart in which you categorize Dr. Sun's proposals according to western and traditional Chinese elements.	This exercise is designed to get the students to analyze Dr. Sun's program in terms of western and Chinese principles. The students should note that Dr. Sun attempts to combine the features of censorship and civil service exam with modern democratic institutions; and that he is combining western style socialism with the traditional agrarian economy of China.
REPORTS	Have the students report their findings to the class and have students complete their notes from the contributions of their fellows.
GROUP WORK: Divide class into three or four groups. Have them discuss the question "Would Dr. Sun's program transform China into a modern innovative society?"	Allow the groups to discuss this question, and ask that by a certain time limit they should reach consensus. Then have each of the groups report its decision to the rest of the class and encourage class discussion to develop the rationale behind the hypothesis. The class should end the discussion by realizing that Dr. Sun wants to incorporate political machinery which will make it possible for China to adapt to changing conditions. The method he suggests for land reform can be used as an excellent example of the type of machinery he suggests. The students should realize that Dr. Sun emphasizes changing the political system as the easiest method for modernization.

THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER

Subject Objective: To know why the Communists achieved power in China.

Skill Objectives: Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to develop an explanation of why the Communists achieved power in China.

Analysis of Relationships: (4.30) - to analyze how the evidence presented in the article supports the explanation of why the Communists achieved power.

Materials: Reading 9

GROUP WORK: Have each group develop an explanation or hypothesis in answer to the question, "Why did the Communists achieve power in China?"	Have each group choose a leader and ask them to work toward an explanation that they can all agree upon. Tell the groups to write down their explanation once it has reached consensus and turn them into the teacher. When all groups have written their explanations, resolve into a whole-class and read each group's explanation. Call upon each group to justify its explanation by reference to the evidence contained in the reading. Encourage the rest of the class to criticize the explanations of the various groups.
SUMMARIZE: How can we write one explanation that will account for all the ideas mentioned in this discussion?	Work toward a general explanation with the whole class participating. The final explanation should contain the following elements: 1. failure of western nations to help Kuomintang 2. Russian help in organizational problems 3. effect of World War II on China 4. no efficient party apparatus in Nationalist China that could marshal support in behalf of Nationalist leaders 5. the Communist Party's progress and its appeal to peasants, intellectuals, and to patriotism. 6. the Communist strategy of peasant army and region by region take-over of China.

CHINA — Exam Following Reading IX

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last 20 minutes. It consists of twenty-five questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

A 1. Confucius valued all of the following EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] material goods.
   B. education.
   C. family ties.
   D. loyalty.

B 2. In the traditional village, a family used its land to grow crops
   A. for sale in nearby cities.
   [✓ B.] to be consumed by the family.
   C. to be sold in the village.
   D. to be used by the army.

C 3. Most of the members of the scholar-gentry class came from
   A. peasant backgrounds.
   B. merchant backgrounds.
   [✓ C.] scholar-gentry backgrounds.
   D. artisan backgrounds.

C 4. According to Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby, which of the following was most responsible for the poverty of the peasants?
   A. The bad soil which they farm.
   B. The large families most peasants must support.
   [✓ C.] The oppression of the landlord-loanshark-government official.
   D. The peasant's total reliance on the land.

A 5. All of the following were factors in the Communist take-over of China EXCEPT:
   [✓ A.] Russian support of the Communists with ammunition and troops.
   B. The appeal of the Communist Party program to peasants.
   C. The failure of western nations to help the Nationalists.
   D. The lack of an efficient Party apparatus that could gain support for Nationalist leaders.

B 6. In which of the following ways were the human resources of a Chinese village allocated?
   A. Everyone in the village worked only in the fields.
   [✓ B.] Everyone in the village worked in the fields and some people also worked at handicrafts.
   C. Some people worked only in the fields while some people worked only at handicrafts.
   D. Men worked in the fields while women worked at handicrafts in the home.

D 7. Sun Yat-sen urged the Chinese to
   A. completely destroy their traditional civilization.
   B. adopt communism.
   C. adopt capitalism.
   [✓ D.] blend elements of traditional China with western ideas.

C 8. Some Chinese officials began to realize that China could learn from the West after
   A. Marco Polo traveled to China.
   B. the Dutch set up a trading outpost at Malacca.
   [✓ C.] the British defeated China in the Opium War.
   D. the Boxer Rebellion.

B 9. The scholar-gentry were able to maintain their dominant position in Chinese society for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
   A. they controlled most of the land.
   [✓ B.] they owned most of the factories.
   C. they had more knowledge than lower classes.
   D. they had political power.

A 10. The major concern of the traditional Chinese government was
   [✓ A.] providing moral leadership for the people.
   B. developing the Chinese economy.
   C. attending to the economic welfare of the people.
   D. bringing about a classless society.

B 11. In the nineteenth century, certain Chinese officials criticized the method of choosing civil servants for failing to recruit men who were
   A. popular with the people.
   [✓ B.] able to solve practical problems.
   C. well schooled in Confucian principles.
   D. well schooled in the laws of the Chinese.

C 12. In traditional China, social status depended upon
   A. how many workers a man employed.
   B. what kind of house a man lived in.
   [✓ C.] whether or not a man occupied a position in the civil service.
   D. how large a farm a man owned.

A 13. According to Confucius, the best government was one which
   [✓ A.] set a good example for the people it ruled.
   B. established laws and punishments which made men moral.
   C. took measures to insure economic growth.
   D. maintained a well-equipped army to keep westerners out of China.

D 14. The method of recruiting leaders in traditional China was consistent with Confucian philosophy in that
   A. only men of great wealth were chosen.
   B. only men who were popular with the voters were chosen.
   C. only gentlemen were chosen.
   [✓ D.] only men who were highly educated were chosen.

D 15. The civil service examinations tested candidates on
   A. their knowledge of economics.
   B. their knowledge of the institutions of the government.
   C. their knowledge of the laws of China.
   [✓ D.] their knowledge of Confucian principles.

Questions 16 through 19 refer to the following table:

Graduates of Civil Service Exam who did or did not have
Ancestors in the Civil Service

Categories	Examination of 1148 (Total=279)	Examination of 1256 (Total=572)
I. Total graduates with no ancestors in civil service.	157 (56% of total)	331 (58% of total)
II. Total graduates with ancestors in civil service.	122 (44% of total)	241 (42% of total)
A. Graduates with father, grandfather, & great grandfather in service.	45 (37% of II)	30 (12.5% of II)
B. Graduates with father & grandfather in service.	17 (14% of II)	22 (9% of II)
C. Graduates with father in service.	26 (21% of II)	63 (26% of II)
D. Graduates with at least one ancestor in service.	34 (28% of II)	126 (52.5% of II)

D 16. The conclusion,"Most of the graduates who had no ancestors in the civil service came from wealthy families"
A. is justified by the table. B. is not justified by the table.
C. can be inferred from the table, but more evidence will be needed to justify it.
[✓ D.] can neither be inferred from nor justified by the evidence in the table.

C 17. The conclusion, "With the passing of the centuries, family background counted for less and less in the recruitment of civil servants"
A. is justified by the table. B. is not justified by the table.
[✓ C.] can be inferred from the table, but more evidence will be needed to justify it.
D. can neither be inferred from nor justified by the data in the table.

A 18. The conclusion, "One's chances of becoming a civil servant were better if one came from a long line of civil servants than if one was only the son of a civil servant in 1148"
[✓ A] is justified by the table. B. is not justified by the table.
C. can be inferred from the table, but more evidence will be needed to justify it.
D. can neither be inferred from nor justified by the data in the table.

B 19. The conclusion, "Family background counted more than education in the recruitment of civil servants in 1148 and 1256"
A. is justified by the table. [✓ B.] is not justified by the table.
C. can be inferred from the evidence in the table, but more evidence would be needed for justification.
D. can neither be inferred from nor justified by the evidence in the table.

Questions 20 through 25 refer to the following statements of Confucian principles:

I. "The inferior man understands what is profitable."
II. "To govern is to set things right. If the ruler begins by setting himself right, who will dare to deviate from the right?"
III. "By nature men are pretty much alike; it is learning and practice that set them apart."
IV. "Humanity is what it is to be a human being and loving one's relatives is the most important part of it."

C 20. Which of the Confucian principles stated above is illustrated by the following statement: "In order to enter the Chinese Civil Service, one had to pass an examination."?
A. I only B. II only [✓ C.] III only D. IV only

A 21. Which of the Confucian principles stated above is being used to judge the civil servant mentioned in the following passage: "Wang Ting has used his office to enrich himself and should be dismissed."?
[✓ A.] I only C. I & III only
B. II only D. I & IV only

C 22. Which of the Confucian principles stated above is being used to judge the civil servant mentioned in the following passage: "Tang Kin-chau ...has knowledge and attainments of a respectable and sterling character."?
A. II only [✓ C.] II & III only
B. I & III only D. III & IV only

A 23. Which of the Confucian principles stated above is being tested in the following question from a civil service examination: "He acts as he ought, both to the common people and to officials."?
[✓ A.] II only C. I & IV only
B. III only D. II and III only

D 24. Which of the Confucian principles is illustrated by the following passage learned by school boys: "Mutual affection of father and son, concord of man and wife; the older brother's kindness, the younger one's respect. ... These moral duties are ever binding among men."?
A. I only B. II only C. III only [✓ D.] IV only

C 25. Which of the Confucian principles stated above is Mencius trying to explain in the following passage: "The King said, 'You have come a thousand miles; you must have something to profit my kingdom.' Mencius replied, 'What I have to offer is humanity and righteousness and nothing more.'"?
A. I only [✓ C.] I & II only
B. II only D. II & III only

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Subject Objectives:	To know that Communist ideology is revolutionary in China in that it completely rejects Confucian values. To know what implications Communist ideology has for the political system of China.
Skill Objectives:	Extrapolation: (2.30) - to be able to draw implications of Communist ideology for the political system of China. Analysis of elements: (4.10) - to analyze the ideology of Communism for the values it hopes to promote.
Materials:	Reading 10

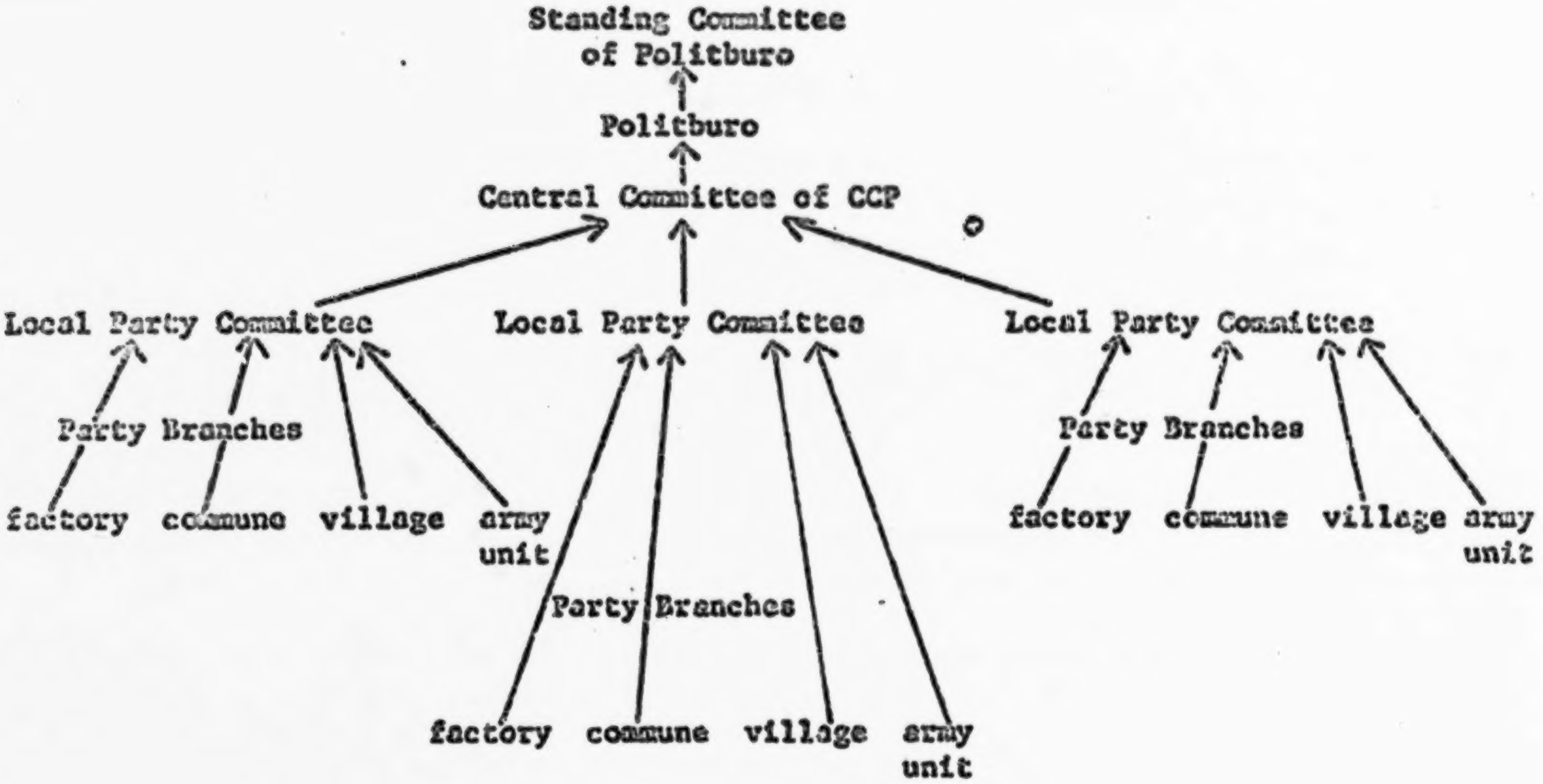
How revolutionary is Communism for China? To what degree does Communism depart from traditional values?	The students should analyze the readings to select evidence which shows how Communist values differ from Confucian values and in what ways they are similar. The students should note that the goal of Communism is far different from Confucianism. Communism is concerned with material welfare, Confucianism is concerned with social harmony. At the same time, Confucianism and Communism both exalt the welfare of the entire group over the welfare of the individual.
GROUP WORK: Have each group work toward a hypothesis for ONE of the following questions. 1. Who will be the leaders and how will they be recruited? 2. How will decisions be made? 3. What will be the role of the individual citizen?	The students should develop hypotheses that will show how Communist ideology supports a totalitarian regime. They ought to realize, for example, that leaders will be chosen from the top on the basis of their commitment to Communist goals--that they must be interested in crushing the imperialist capitalists and elevating the proletariat. Decisions will be made by a central authority in the name of the proletariat. These decisions will be made to further the goals of the Communists. The individual citizen will have no part in decision making, but if the citizen is a member of the proletariat, he will be protected by the government (though he will also have to follow the orders of the government.).
Will a political system based on this ideology be any more capable of adapting to change than the traditional political system?	Allow the students to speculate about the adaptability of the Communist regime. If the regime is hamstrung by its ideology, it runs the risk of closing off alternatives for change. However, if the ideology will permit several alternative means for achieving its goals, then it will be able to adapt to changes as they occur.

CHINA　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Lesson Plan, Reading XI

THE APPARATUS OF DECISION MAKING

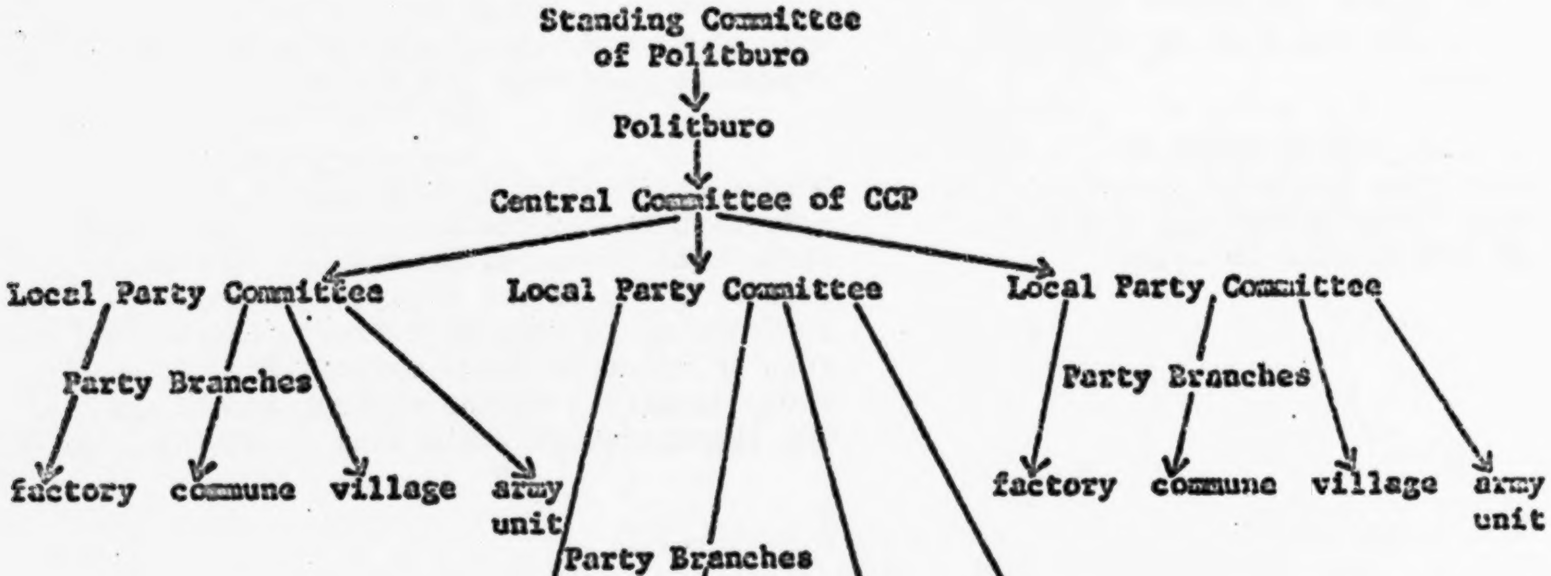
Subject Objectives:	To know that the government of Communist China is so constructed as to assure dominance by the Communist Party. To know that the power to make significant decisions is vested in very few hands at the national level and at the local level.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Organizational Principles: (4.30) - to analyze the organization of Chinese political institutions to recognize the totalitarian principles upon which they are based.
Materials:	Reading XI Two transparencies

PROJECT TRANSPARENCY #1 What does this indicate about the organization of the Chinese government?	This exercise is designed to have the students analyze one of the principles of governmental organization in China, namely that government posts are filled by Party leaders. Six of the seven members of the Politburo occupy the most important posts in the government. Mao Tse Tung, the Chairman of the Party and Chairman of the Politburo standing committee, does not occupy a government post since he retired some years ago. But at one time he was the Premier of China.
How would this principle of organization affect the way in which decisions are made in Communist China?	The students should recognize that Party decisions will always prevail in the state apparatus, and that state decisions are dependent upon what the Party wants.
PROJECT TRANSPARENCY #2 From your readings, how would you draw lines indicating the flow of information in China?	Direct the students' attention to the second selection in the reading. The formal rules state that lower Party organizations must report to the higher Party organizations. The students would then draw lines indicating that information flows upward, from local Party committee to the central committee. The transparency should look something like this:


Standing Committee of Politburo
Politburo
Central Committee of CCP
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit

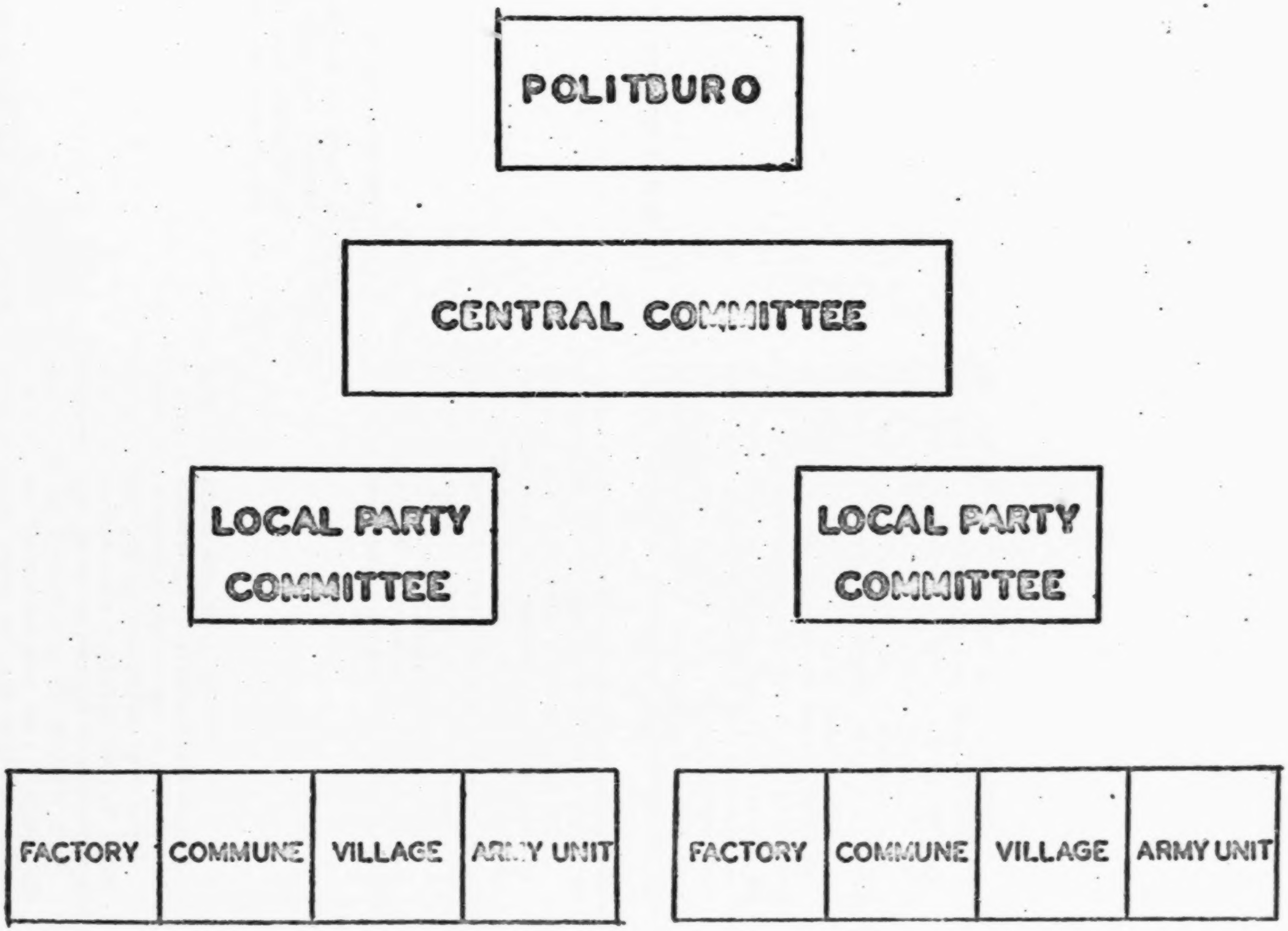
From your readings, how would you draw lines indicating the flow of directives about what decisions have been made?

These lines should emanate from the central committee to the local committees and from the local committees to the Party branches that are located in the various sectors of the society. The transparency should look something like this.


Standing Committee of Politburo
Politburo
Central Committee of CCP
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit
Local Party Committee
Party Branches
factory
commune
village
army unit

What seems to be the basic principle underlying the organization of the Communist Party?	The students should be able to analyze the chart to indicate that the local Party organizations exist to feed information to the central government and to translate the decisions of the central government into action. The basic principle or organization, then, is centralized decision making. The teacher may wish to dramatize this point after the students have made it by drawing a circle around the Politburo indicating that decisions are made there.
Taking these two charts and the evidence in your readings as a basis, how will the institutional structure of China affect:	
1. Legislative decision making	The students should understand that legislative decision making will be done in the Party councils, particularly in the Politburo. These decisions will be based upon the information supplied the Politburo from the lower Party organs and on the leaders' interpretation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The structure insures that the leaders' views of what the society needs to advance toward Communism will be carried out.
2. Executive decision making	Again, the focus is on the Politburo and its standing committee. Since the members of the Politburo occupy the key positions in the state apparatus, which is responsible for enforcing the Party policies, we can be sure that all decisions about how to execute and enforce laws and Party policy will be handled in accordance with Party policy. Again, information from the lower Party organs will enable the Politburo to take the appropriate measures to see that their laws are obeyed. Further, the chain of command clearly indicates that the Party leaders can see that their laws are implemented.

PARTY STRUCTURE OF COMMUNIST CHINA



POLITBURO

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEE

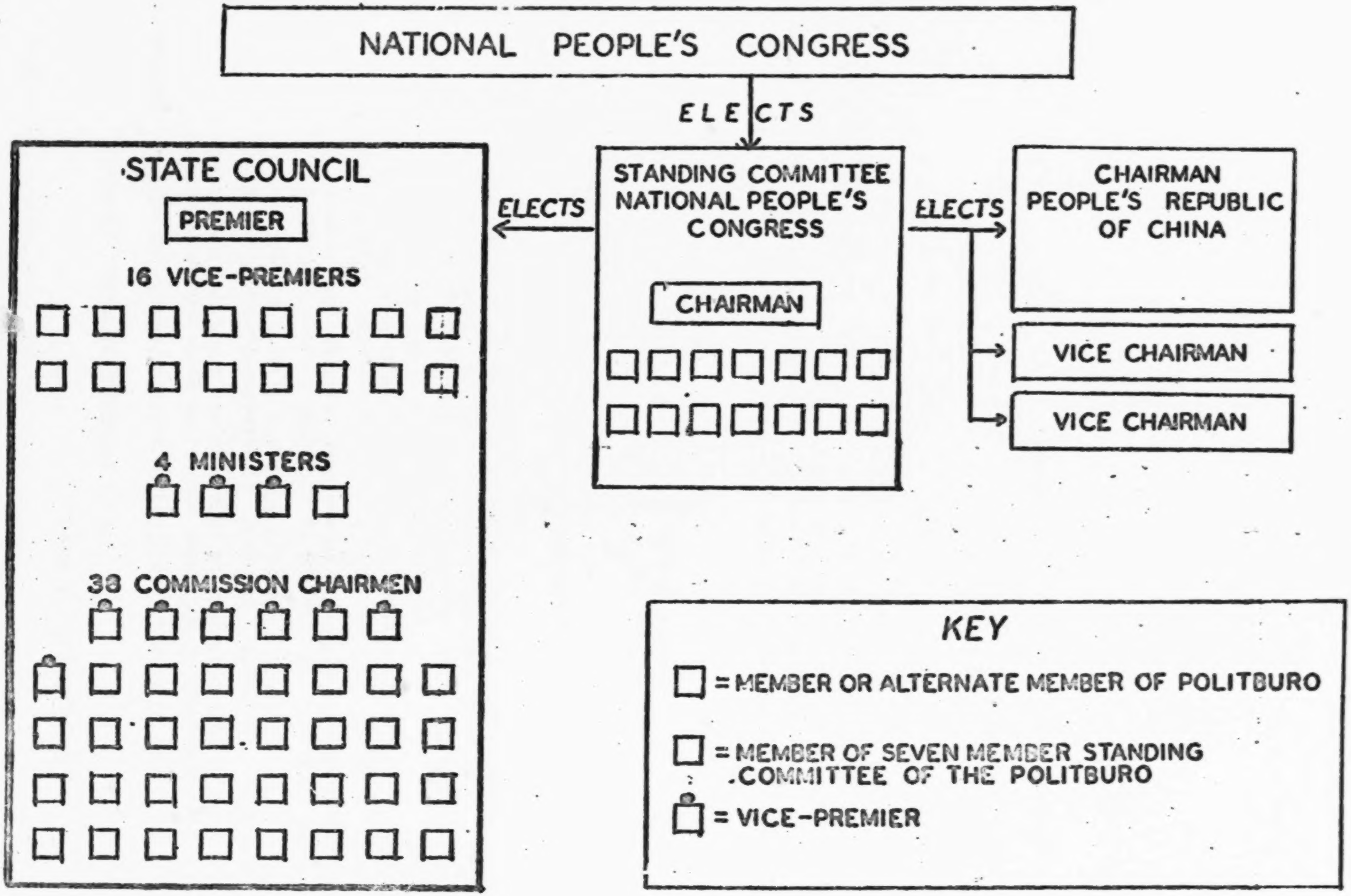
LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEE

FACTORY
COMMUNE
VILLAGE
ARMY UNIT

FACTORY
COMMUNE
VILLAGE
ARMY UNIT

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE OF COMMUNIST CHINA

GOVERNMENT POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO


NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
ELECTS
STATE COUNCIL
PREMIER
16 VICE-PREMIERS
4 MINISTERS
38 COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
ELECTS
STANDING COMMITTEE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
CHAIRMAN
ELECTS
CHAIRMAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
VICE CHAIRMAN
VICE CHAIRMAN
KEY
☐ = MEMBER OR ALTERNATE MEMBER OF POLITBURO
☐ = MEMBER OF SEVEN MEMBER STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE POLITBURO
☐ = VICE-PREMIER

DECISION MAKERS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Subject Objectives: To know the characteristics of political leaders in China.

To know that the types of leaders recruited in China will affect decision making in ways such as the following:

1. The leader, well-schooled in Communist philosophy, will seek to promote its goals with his decisions.
2. The leader, trained in practical matters, will be able to cope with practical problems of promoting Communist goals.
3. The leader, selected because of his dedication to the Party, will make decisions that might subordinate his own interests to those of the Party.
4. The leader, because he has not ventured out of Communist China, probably will not be able to consider as many alternatives in decision making as he might otherwise be able to do.

Skill Objectives: Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze the documents and charts to select the characteristics of the leaders in Communist China.

Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - to develop a hypothesis about the effect of characteristics of the Chinese leaders on decision making.

Materials: Reading XII

WRITING EXERCISE: On the basis of the reading, make a list of the characteristics of Chinese Communist decision makers.

The students should analyze the two articles and the charts for characteristics of the leaders. Some of these characteristics might be:

1. he is schooled in Communist philosophy
2. he subscribes to the opinions of his superiors
3. he is skillful in dealing with other people
4. he is disciplined
5. he puts the Party before himself
6. he can translate Party policy into practical programs
7. he is most likely a peasant or of peasant origin
8. he is middle age or old
9. except for top leaders, he has not been educated out of China
10. he has a college education
11. if he was educated outside of China, he probably was educated in the USSR.

REPORTS

Have the students report the characteristics they have listed and write them on the board.

Given this profile of the Chinese decision maker, what kinds of decisions would he make about:

1. industrial development
2. agricultural development
3. housing
4. the production of consumer goods
5. foreign policy

This series of questions should encourage the students to develop an idea of the relationship between the characteristics of the decision makers and the kinds of decisions that have been made. Work toward general statements such as those enumerated under the subject objectives after the students have developed answers to the specific questions.

IF TIME PERMITS

Given the ideology, the institutional structure, and the characteristics of the decision makers, do you think that China will be able to solve the problems she inherited from the traditional society?

Try to guide this discussion toward the solution of economic problems and the problems of defending China from aggression, since these will be the two problems considered in the next two lessons.

CHINA

Lesson Plan, Reading XIXI

DOMESTIC DECISION MAKING: THE COMMUNISTS AND AGRICULTURE

Subject Objectives:	To know that the Chinese have reorganized the use of their natural, human, and capital resources on the Commune. To know to what degree the Chinese decided to use the Commune to advance their Communist aims and to what degree they have decided to use the Commune to meet the practical problems of feeding their people.
Skill Objectives:	Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze Chinese agricultural policy for the unstated assumptions and goals of the communists. Analysis of Relationships: (4.20) - to compare the Commune system with traditional agriculture.
Materials:	Reading XIXI Single Concept Slides: "Life on the Commune"

According to the Communists, why did they establish communes?	Direct the students' attention to the statement of policy issued by the Central Committee. Have them analyze the statement for the reasons stated and the assumptions unstated in the selection. The students should choose and interpret such statements as: "The basis for the development of the People's Communes is mainly the all-around, continuous leap forward," "the growth of rural industry also demands the transfer of some manpower from agriculture," "this has raised the political consciousness of the 500 million peasants" (students might infer the desire to indoctrinate the masses), "[to] complete the building of socialism... and to carry out the gradual transition to communism," "Cooperatives...no longer meet the needs of the changing situation." The students might wish to explore the meaning of the paragraph about the establishment of wage policies. In general, the students should see that the Communists decided to establish communes for practical and ideological purposes.
SHOW SLIDES: How have the Communists implemented their policy? How have they allocated human, capital and natural resources? What do these pictures tell you about the purposes behind the decision?	The students should use the slides to develop hypotheses about how the Communists have changed the traditional agricultural system and determine from the changes they recognize what purposes lay behind the Communist decision. They should be able to spot more efficient use of human resources, the allocation of land to more than agriculture, the development of new capital resources. They should also spot how the communists use the Commune to achieve political and military purposes as well.

What decisions followed the decision to set up Communes?	Direct the students' attention to the selection by Claude Buss. Have them identify the several decisions made since 1960 to retreat from the Communes.
What reasons do you think lay behind these decisions?	Encourage the students to identify the particular circumstances that Buss suggests prompted the decisions.
Knowing what you do about the leadership, institutions, and ideology of the Chinese government, what seems to be the major consideration behind the decisions regarding the Communes? Is it the consideration of how best to advance Communism? Or is it a consideration of which alternatives will best solve China's problems?	These questions should encourage discussion on the blend of ideological goals and practical needs that govern Communist decision making. The students should consider to what extent Communist ideology limits the alternatives available to the Chinese and to what extent they are able to seek alternatives that might conflict with orthodox Communism. The students might bear in mind that many alternatives were closed off to traditional China because of establish folkways and mores. The same dilemma might confront modern China if the leaders are too hidebound by Communist philosophy.

AV: Life on the Commune: Various photos of commune life: agricultural labor, political indoctrination in fields, propaganda, housing, separation of and education of children.

CHINA Lesson Plan, Reading XIV

DECISION MAKING IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Subject Objective: To know what considerations underlie Chinese decisions regarding foreign policy.

Skill Objectives: Extrapolation: (2.30) - to recognize the implications of Chinese foreign policy for specific situations.

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) - to analyze foreign policy statements for underlying assumptions.

Materials: Reading XIV
Handout - Chinese Foreign Policy Decisions

According to the introduction of this reading, what considerations might underlie Chinese foreign policy?	The students should pick out Communist ideology, the history of military defeat, and anti-colonialism.
Which of these considerations seems uppermost in the Chinese foreign policy statements?	The students should analyze the selections in the readings to pick out phrases and passages that reveal one of the three considerations in foreign policy. The students might choose such statements as: 1. "The principles underlying the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China are the defense of its national independence...etc." (indicating their concern over protecting themselves). 2. "The Chinese people firmly support the national and democratic movements of the Asian, African and South American peoples... for democratic liberties and socialism" (indicating their concern for ideology). 3. "U.S. imperialism must completely get out of the southern part of Vietnam." (indicating anti-colonial feeling).
HANDOUT: What do you think prompted each of the foreign policy decisions reported here?	The students should look at the blend of factors that might enter into each decision. The teacher should encourage the students to relate their knowledge about ideology, leadership, and institutional structure to each of these decisions.

TOTALITARIANISM IN CHINA HANDOUT, Reading XIV

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS

The following are lead paragraphs of news stories from THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Nov. 5, 1950. Waves of Communist troops, reported in field dress of the Chinese Communist Army, today assaulted and infiltrated the keystone of the new United Nations defense line in northwestern Korea.

Jan. 31, 1958. The Chinese Defense Ministry announced today that Chinese shore artillery shelled the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu last night.

Jan. 15, 1961. The major threat to South Asia continues to be from Communist China. For nearly a year and a half India has been trying in vain to convince Peiping that 51,000 miles of disputed Himalayan territory rightfully belong to her. Of this, Chinese troops occupy about 12,000 square miles in Eastern Ladakh Province of the State of Kashmir.

Sept. 3, 1965. Communist China declared today that its support of the revolutionary wars in underdeveloped countries was a strategy directed at the eventual encirclement of the United States and Western Europe. In a new statement of military doctrine, Peking said that the focus of this worldwide revolutionary struggle was now Vietnam.

CHINA

Lesson Plan, Reading XV

THOUGHT CONTROL IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Subject Objectives: To know that the Communists in China are trying to win the Chinese away from the traditional society by means of thought control.

To know the techniques used for thought control.

Skill Objectives: Application: (3.00) - to apply the analogy of a role-playing exercise to the methods of thought control in Communist China.

Analysis of Elements: (4.10) 0 to recognize the values and unstated assumptions in the Chinese play, the interview, and the classroom discussion.

Materials: Reading XV
Tape: "Do Not Spit at Random"

What is the purpose of thought control in China?	Encourage discussion on this question. The students should understand, at the end of the discussion that the Communists are using thought control to wean the Chinese away from the traditional society and to gain support for their own policies.
What new values are the Communists trying to promote, according to the reading?	Turn the students' attention to the last two selections in the reading. Have them analyze the film-star's interview and the school room discussion for the values the Communists are trying to promote. They should identify such things as morality, industriousness, nationalism, dutifulness, etc.
TAPE: What values were being promoted by this little play?	The students should recognize neatness and cleanliness right away, but they should also recognize the concept of duty to the state as being a man's most important obligation--the neatness is only a way of demonstrating this duty.
What techniques were used to indoctrinate the man in the play?	The students should recognize the use of group pressure.
Where else is group pressure used?	Indicate the first selection in the reading on the study group.
ROLE PLAYING EXERCISE: Let's see what these study groups are like. (Select eight or nine students to make a study group. Have them discuss their attitudes toward homework.)	Instruct eight or nine students to form a study group to examine their attitudes toward homework. Ask the class to tell the study group how it is to proceed. The students should instruct the group to criticize each other and themselves about their attitudes toward schoolwork (this is what the Communist study groups do). Allow the group to carry on their discussion for ten or fifteen minutes. The teacher should play the role of the Communist Party's representative in the study group, taking notes and making it known that he will report to higher authorities. The students should be made to apply their knowledge of school rules, etc. to their own lives and demonstrate how they should go about reforming.

Script to accompany Reading XV

DO NOT SPIT AT RANDOM *

* From Fang Tsu, "Do Not Spit At Random," in ATLANTIC MONTHLY, August, 1959, p. 103-104.

A street play which has been performed many times on the street corners of Hangchow and Shanghai, written by the Hangchow Stage Group in support of the patriotic health movement.

WHERE IS CHINA GOING?

Subject Objective:	To know the directions in which the Communists are taking China.
Skill Objective:	Derivation of Abstract Relations: (5.30) - development of a hypothesis about where Red China is going.
Materials:	Reading 16 Essay Test

ADMINISTER ESSAY TEST: Allow the students twenty minutes to write their answers.

Where is Red China going?	Use the reading as a basis for discussion for the rest of the class period. Allow the students free expression of their ideas. Encourage them to use evidence from previous readings.

TOTALITARIANISM IN CHINA **Final Examination**

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This examination is divided into two parts. The first part is an objective examination, consisting of 15 questions for which you should allot 15 minutes. The second part is an essay examination to be written during the remainder of the period.

For each question in the objective section choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

B 1. By establishing Communes, China was able to
- A. put land resources under the control of individual peasants.
- [✓ B.] devote some of her rural human resources to manufacturing.
- C. make huge increases in the amount of capital resources available to farming.
- D. increase the amount of human resources used in farming.

D 2. The Chinese use their schools to inculcate all of the following values EXCEPT:
- A. industriousness.
- B. nationalism.
- C. a sense of duty to the state.
- [✓ D.] love of liberty.

D 3. A good Party leader would consider all of the following factors when making a decision EXCEPT:
- A. promoting the goals of the Party.
- B. practical methods of putting Party policies into effect.
- C. Marxist-Leninist philosophy.
- [✓ D.] the leader's own interests and ambitions.

A 4. Communes were instituted in China for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
- [✓ A.] to copy the Russians.
- B. to increase the productivity of the land.
- C. to make it easier to indoctrinate the peasants in Communist philosophy.
- D. to make progress toward the establishment of a Communist society.

A 5. Communist ideology differs from the ideology of traditional China in that it is far more interested in
- [✓ A.] the material welfare of the people.
- B. putting the community's interests ahead of those of the individual.
- C. maintaining peace.
- D. strengthening family ties.

A 6. On which of the following indoctrination techniques does the study group depend most?
- [✓ A.] The use of group pressure.
- B. The use of propaganda.
- C. The use of force.
- D. The use of advertising.

Questions 7 through 11 refer to the following quotations from the Central Committee directive establishing the Communes.

I. "The basis for the development of people's communes is mainly the all-continuous leap forward in China's agricultural production and the ever-rising political consciousness of the 500 million peasants."

II. "The growth of rural industry demands the transfer of some manpower from agriculture."

III. "The demand for mechanization and electrification has become increasingly urgent in China's rural areas."

IV. "In the people's communes...industry, agriculture, exchange, culture and education, and military affairs merge into one."

V. "The communes will complete the building of socialism ahead of time, and carry out the gradual transition to communism."

VI. "Payment will be 'to each according to his work' and not 'to each according to his needs.'"

D 7. Which of the statements above would you use to justify the conclusion, "The communes have been instituted as a means of carrying out China's ideological goals."?

A. I only B. III only C. IV only [✓ D.] V only

A 8. Which of the statements above would you use to justify the conclusion: "China instituted its communes to make it possible to change the allocation of her human resources."?

[✓ A.] II only B. V only C. VI only D. II & VI only

B 9. Which of the statements above would you use to justify the conclusion: "The communes were instituted to make it possible for the government to control the political indoctrination of China's rural population."?

A. I only C. I, II & III only
[✓ B.] I & IV only D. IV, V, & VI only

D 10. Which of the statements above would you use to answer the question, "What is to be produced on the Communes?"

A. I only C. III, IV & V only
B. II only [✓ D.] I, II, III & IV only

C 11. Which of the above statements would you use to justify the conclusion, "There is a discrepancy between what the Communists say are their goals and the practices they have initiated on the Communes."?

A. II & III only [✓ C.] V & VI only
B. IV & V only D. IV, V & VI only

C 12. All of the following statements about a typical Party leader's background are true EXCEPT:

A. He is most likely a peasant or the son of a peasant.
B. He is middle-age or old.
[✓ C.] He has been educated in several western countries.
D. He has a college education.

B 13. All of the following statements appear in the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party EXCEPT:

- A. "The leading bodies [i.e. Party congresses] of the Party at all levels are elected."
- [✓ B.] "Decisions of the Central Committee are to be voted upon by all the Party members."
- C. "Lower Party organizations must present periodical reports on their work to the Party organizations above them."
- D. "Party decisions must be carried out unconditionally. ...Once a decision is taken by the leading bodies of the Party, it must be accepted."

B 14. The prospective member of the Chinese Communist Party must fulfill all of the following requirements EXCEPT:

- A. indicate that he knows the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.
- [✓ B.] obtain a majority of votes of the people in his district.
- C. obtain the approval of the local Party leaders.
- D. pay the Party dues.

C 15. The Chinese consider all of the following factors in making foreign policy decisions EXCEPT:

- A. what will best promote the defense of China's national independence.
- B. what will help spread Communism to other lands in Asia and Africa.
- [✓ C.] what will help the Soviet Union achieve its foreign policy goals.
- D. what will hasten the retreat of western colonial powers from Asia and Africa.

PART II

"In making decisions, China is not so much prompted by its Communist ideology as it is prompted by the need to solve the practical problem of destroying the traditional society and building a modern, innovative society."

Write an essay in which you either agree or disagree with this statement.

Be sure to draw evidence from Readings X through XVI.

THE NON-WESTERN WORLD FINAL EXAMINATION

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS EXAMINATION SHEET. AN ANSWER SHEET HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

This objective examination will last forty-five (45) minutes. It consists of fifty questions. For each question, choose the best of the four suggested answers. After you decide which answer is best, mark an X through the letter on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question; no credit will be given for multiple answers.

Example:	Question Sheet	Answer Sheet
	1. Chicago is a	1. A X C D
	A. state C. country	
	B. city D. continent	

If you do not know the answer to a question, go on to the next one, and then return to questions you have left blank. If you are able to eliminate one of the four suggested answers as certainly wrong, it will pay you to guess among the other three. The exam will be graded according to the number right minus one-third of the number wrong.

1. How would an early European settler in South Africa have characterized the Boer relationship with the Hottentots?
   A. "We must convert these heathen people to Christianity."
   B. "The Hottentots must be exterminated."
   [✓ C.] "The Hottentots are a source of cheap labor and cattle for us."
   D. "We must recruit and train the Hottentot for a colonial civil service."

2. The Boers were able to dominate the Hottentot but not the Bantu because
   A. the Bantu did not have a traditional culture.
   B. the Hottentot valued cattle more than group cohesion.
   [✓ C.] the Bantu had larger groups that were well organized.
   D. the Bantu were cannibals and ate only missionaries.

3. The article, "Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard," is an example of how social scientists gather evidence by means of a
   A. questionnaire.
   B. laboratory experiment.
   [✓ C.] case study.
   D. search through primary sources.

4. The Communists have changed the traditional ways of recruiting and training leaders in China in that
   A. they no longer require training in the basic ideology of the regime.
   B. leaders are no longer chosen by the government elite.
   [✓ C.] leaders are no longer recruited primarily from the upper class.
   D. leaders are no longer trained in practical matters of administration.

5. The Indian government participates in the economic development of India by
   [✓ A.] persuading tradition-bound Indians to experiment with new techniques.
   B. maintaining a hands-off relationship to the economy.
   C. forcing Indians to work in particular jobs.
   D. planning the allocation of all resources in India.

6. Industrialization in India has had all the following effects on the traditional culture EXCEPT that
   A. it has helped to break down rigid caste barriers.
   B. it has helped to break down the joint family.
   C. it has made the informal education of Indians obsolete.
   [✓ D.] it has broken down the concept of a nation-state.

Questions 7 through 9 refer to the following statements:

I. "Our celestial empire possesses all things in prolific abundance, and lacks no product within its own borders. I have no use for your country's merchandise."

II. "Everything in China's civil and military systems is far superior to the West. Only in firearms is it absolutely impossible to catch up."

III. "Mathematics, one of the six arts, should indeed be learned by scholars...and it should not be considered an unworthy subject."

IV. "As for the policy of strengthening China to resist foreign countries, the only way is to use the principles of loyalty and righteousness in order to summon and unite the moral vigor of the empire. ..."

7. Which of the statements above would you choose to support the conclusion: "Chinese officials saw the wisdom in learning technology from the West."?
   A. II only. B. IV only. C. I & II only. [✓ D.] II & III only.

8. Which of the statements above would you choose to support the conclusion: "Some of the Chinese officials had been influenced by the western ideas of nationalism."
   A. I only.
   [✓ B.] IV only.
   C. I & IV only.
   D. II & III only.

9. Which of the following conclusions do you think can be supported by all four of the statements given above?
   A. Chinese officials did not wish to learn anything from the West.
   B. Chinese officials embraced western culture wholeheartedly.
   C. Chinese officials came to believe that China was inferior to the West.
   [✓ D.] Chinese officials wished to retain Chinese values while learning western technology.

10. Apartheid in South Africa is a form of
   A. extermination.
   [✓ B.] accommodation.
   C. assimilation.
   D. amalgamation.

11. The major concern of Confucianism is
   A. to tell people how to get to heaven.
   B. to increase material prosperity in China.
   [✓ C.] to bring about more harmonious human relationships.
   D. to provide a theoretical basis for government.

Questions 12 and 13 refer to the following facts about Country X:

I. Population = 30,000,000
II. Population increase = 1,000,000 per year
III. Birth rate = 4,000,000 per year
IV. Number of trained doctors = 2,000

12. Which of the facts given above would you use to support the conclusion: "The annual death rate of Country X is one person in every ten."?
A. I and II only.
B. I and III only.
[✓ C.] I, II, and III only.
D. I, III, and IV only.

13. Which of the facts given above would you use to support the conclusion: "Country X does not have adequate medical care."?
A. II only.
B. IV only.
[✓ C.] I and IV only.
D. I and III only.

14. With the coming of the West in the 19th century, the Chinese showed the most interest in learning about
[✓ A.] western science and technology.
B. Christianity.
C. western-style democracies.
D. Communism.

15. All of the following were part of Sun Yat-sen's program for reforming China EXCEPT:
A. Develop a sense of national unity.
B. Set up democratic political institutions.
C. Improve the economic well-being of the peasants.
[✓ D.] Establish a totalitarian government.

16. The British in India failed to develop
A. a civil service.
[✓ B.] armaments and shipbuilding industries.
C. a railroad system.
D. an educational system.

17. Traditional societies differ from modern, innovative societies, in that
A. no one has very much wealth in traditional societies.
B. people are happier in innovative societies.
[✓ C.] innovative societies can consider more alternatives in making decisions.
D. people in traditional societies have a deeper sense of values.

18. The caste system in India influences economic growth primarily in the way it affects
A. the development of natural resources.
B. the creation of capital resources.
[✓ C.] the recruitment and placement of human resources.
D. the distribution of consumer goods.

19. In China, study groups are
A. held by Communist Party leaders to give the peasant a greater voice in policy decisions.
[✓ B.] held to bring about thought control.
C. held by students at the University of Peking to work on their homework.
D. held by the leaders of the communes to examine production problems.

Questions 20 through 22 refer to the following chart.

Percentage of Castes in Selected Occupations (1931)

CASTE	% in Agriculture	% in Industry	% in Higher Professions
Middle Caste Pottery Makers	20	66	4
Middle Caste Blacksmiths	22	56	5
Low Caste Leather Workers	33	44	1
Low Caste Fishermen Farmers	81	5	1
Low Caste Herdsmen	38	7	5
High Caste Medicine	6	2	50
High Caste Priests Teachers	15	5	31

20. The chart would help you answer all of the following questions EXCEPT:
    A. What restrictions does caste impose on the recruitment of a labor force?
    B. From which castes do Indian farmers come?
    [✓ C.] What percentage of Indians are Brahmins?
    D. What percentage of each of the five castes follow occupations other than those traditionally assigned to the caste?

21. The chart carries implications for all of the following EXCEPT:
    A. the recruitment of a labor force in India.
    [✓ B.] the population explosion in India.
    C. the development of textile mills in India.
    D. the development of human resources in India.

22. All of the following conclusions can be justified by the evidence in the chart EXCEPT:
    A. Modern Indians generally find work in occupations that most nearly approximate their traditional caste occupations.
    B. When Indians follow occupations different from those prescribed by their caste, they generally find work in agricultural occupations.
    C. Very few Indians who come from artisan and agricultural castes find work in the higher professions.
    [✓ D.] Many higher caste (professional) Indians find work in agriculture and industry.

Questions 23 through 25 refer to the following quotations:

I. "Apartheid is a museum piece in our time....Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior...."

II. "Economic development is but a means to an end--the building up, through effort and sacrifice widely shared, of a society, without caste, class, or privilege, which offers to every section of the community and to all parts of the country the fullest opportunity to grow and to contribute to the national well-being."

III. "If today we want to restore the standing of our people, we must first restore our national spirit...."

IV. "We want to change a politically oppressed and economically exploited China into a politically free and economically prosperous China...."

23. Which of the statements above indicates that the writer has probably been influenced by western materialistic values?
A. I only. C. III and IV only.
[✓ B.] II and IV only. D. I, III and IV only.

24. Which of the statements above indicates that the writer was probably influenced by western ideas of nationalism?
A. II only. C. II and IV only.
B. II and III only. [✓ D.] II, III and IV only.

25. Which of the statements above indicates that the writer was probably influenced by the western ideas of equality?
A. I only. [✓ C.] I and II only.
B. III only. D. I and IV only.

Questions 26 and 27 refer to the following industrializing elites:
I. Middle Class III. Dynastic
II. Revolutionary Intellectual IV. Nationalistic

26. Which of the above named elites is carrying out the industrialization of China?
A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

27. Which of the above named elites has assumed primary responsibility for the industrialization of India?
A. I B. II C. III [✓ D.] IV

28. In which of the following ways is caste different from apartheid?
A. In caste, status is assigned a person at birth; under apartheid status is earned by working hard.
B. Members of different groups may mingle more freely under caste than they can under apartheid.
C. Members of different groups often intermarry under caste, but they may not under apartheid.
[✓ D.] Under caste, groups are not determined by the color of their skin while under apartheid they are.

Questions 29 through 31 refer to the following statements:

I. The West established trading outposts along the coast and forced the government to recognize extra-territorial rights.
II. The West established a colonial administration in the country, but did not send many immigrants to settle there permanently.
III. The West established a colony there and sent many immigrants to form a permanent settlement of Europeans in the country.
IV. The West took no interest in the country at all.

29. Which of the above best characterizes the way in which the West came to India?
A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

30. Which of the above best characterizes how the West came to South Africa?
A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

31. Which of the above best characterizes the way the West came to China?
[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

32. All of the following are indications that the Chinese political system is a totalitarianism EXCEPT that
A. a small elite makes most of the decisions.
[✓ B.] there is one party member for every thirty citizens.
C. leaders are recruited by the Communist Party officials.
D. the ordinary citizen may not choose between two political candidates.

33. Which of the following statements best describes the attitudes of the traditional Indian peasant?
[✓ A.] He is concerned primarily with his relationships with other men.
B. He is concerned primarily with increasing his share of material goods.
C. He is concerned primarily with making sure his rights are not violated.
D. He is concerned primarily about going to heaven when he dies.

34. The greatest limitation to economic development in India is
A. her lack of natural resources.
[✓ B.] that India's population growth "eats up" her increased productivity.
C. India's failure to develop a command economy.
D. India's failure to develop a market economy.

35. The presence of pardos or mulattoes in Brazil indicates that Brazil
A. has worked out a system of accommodation between the races.
B. has exterminated the inferior races.
[✓ C.] has experienced some amalgamation of the races.
D. has completely assimilated the Negroes into Portuguese culture.

36. In contrast to the United States, slavery in Brazil was characterized by
A. lack of warm feelings between master and slave.
B. the use of slaves on plantations..
C. the wholesale freeing of slaves.
[✓ D.] the protection of slaves by Church and State.

Questions 37 and 38 refer to the following problem:

Suppose you had chosen to do a research paper on the following question: "How have the Communists altered the educational system in China?"

37. Which of the following chapters in Fairbank's UNITED STATES AND CHINA would be most likely to contain evidence for your paper?
    A. Political Control
    B. Economic Reconstruction
    [✓ C.] Thought Reform
    D. Social Reorganization

38. Which of the following analytical questions would be the least useful in your research design?
    A. Who was educated in traditional China?
    B. What are students taught in Communist China?
    C. What are the goals of the educational system as explained by Chinese political leaders?
    [✓ D.] When did the Chinese Communists take over the educational system?

39. Which of the following statements would you choose to support the conclusion: "Industrialization has brought about great changes in the traditional society of India."?
    [✓ A.] When Indians move to the city they live in nuclear families.
    B. Brahmins accept only managerial positions in industry.
    C. Sons generally follow the occupation of their fathers.
    D. A new well was dug in Mysore for the Untouchables.

40. Which of the following statements would you choose to support the conclusion: "When the Bantu moved to the city they easily accepted the material culture of the West."?
    A. Bantu children have little supervision in Johannesburg.
    B. The Bantu men earn less than one pound per week.
    C. Some of the children went to the special school set up for them.
    [✓ D.] The Bantu families often bought pianos.

41. Which of the following statements from a government proclamation would you accept as evidence that the Chinese instituted the communes to bring about more widespread communism in their country?
    A. "The mass of peasants are already conscious of the benefits the communes have brought them."
    B. "The communes combine industry, agriculture, trade, education, and military affairs."
    [✓ C.] The people's commune will remain the basic unit in our social structure in the transition from a socialist to a communist society."
    D. "With communes growing larger, the standards of supply will be raised."

42. In which class would you be least likely to find Negroes in Brazil?
    [✓ A.] Traditional upper class.
    B. Traditional lower class.
    C. Middle class.
    D. Rural proletariat

Questions 43 through 47 refer to the following statements:

I. Sentence #2 provides substantial evidence to confirm the accuracy of sentence #1.
II. Sentence #2 tends to confirm sentence #1, but more proof is needed to be sure.
III. Sentence #2 proves convincingly that #1 is incorrect.
IV. Sentence #2 neither proves nor disproves sentence #1. The two sentences are unrelated.

43. Which of the above statements best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1. "China is a totalitarian regime."
#2. "The official title of the Chinese government is 'The People's Republic of China.'"

A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

44. Which of the above statements best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1. "India has made rapid strides toward modernizing her agriculture."
#2. "In traveling almost 6,000 miles throughout India's most fertile farmland, I saw a total of six tractors and no other farm machinery of any type."

A. I B. II [✓ C.] III D. IV

45. Which of the above statements best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1. "The Chinese have an overwhelming population problem.
#2. "Over 600,000,000 people live in China."

A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

46. Which of the above statements best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1. "The government of South Africa pursues a policy of apartheid."
#2. "The South African Prime Minister, in a recent address explaining government policy, stated, 'We are trying to bring about the separate development of the races in South Africa. Therefore, this government tends to erect completely separate facilities for the two races.'"

[✓ A.] I B. II C. III D. IV

47. Which of the above statements best describes the relationship between the following two sentences?
#1. "The people who live in Indian villages are miserable."
#2. "In one village which I visited, nearly half of the babies born that year died because their parents could not afford adequate health care."

A. I [✓ B.] II C. III D. IV

48. Which of the following factors has the least influence on decisions made by economic planners in Communist China?
    - A. The doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.
    - B. The need to bring about rapid economic growth.
    - [✓ C.] The wishes of the consumer.
    - D. The desire to make China strong enough to resist attack.

49. The abolition of slavery in Brazil
    - A. changed the role Negroes played in society from laborer to manager.
    - B. elevated the Negroes in status to prestige positions.
    - [✓ C.] changed the norms that governed relations between whites and Negroes.
    - D. pushed the Negro into the upper class.

50. Former South African Prime Minister, Malan, defended the system of apartheid on all of the following grounds, EXCEPT
    - A. Apartheid provides for the best possible development of both races.
    - [✓ B.] Apartheid is the best way to make the Bantu capable of mixing with the whites.
    - C. The Bantu and Boer ways of life are irreconcilably different.
    - D. Under apartheid the Bantu have received special services and special treatment for their special problems.